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A Study of Conditions of Young School Children in Maury School, Richmond, Virginia

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A STUDY OF CONDITIONS OF YOUNG SCHOOL CHILDREN

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To the Staff of Maury School, for this study would have been impossible had it not been made in such a cooperative atmosphere; and to Etta Rose Bailey whose leadership has always been an inspiration and whose philosophy has permeated the life of the school and the community.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problem

Maury School is a school for Primary School Children. Here young children may begin their school life at five and a half years of age and remain through the third grade. From many homes come two or more children. In the first three grades four hundred and thirty-four children come from two hundred and thirty-seven homes. The school is located in a declining residential area surrounded by the river, industrial plants, railroad yards, and negro residences. The usual school program does not meet the needs of the children. This study is an attempt to find what elements in the situation had a bearing on the development of Maury School children.

More formally stated, the problem is: What are the conditions of the community which affect the children's development in Maury School?

Selection of Children

For this study the first problem was to make a selection of representative children from the writer's class, so that time could be had to study more thoroughly each of those children. These children began their school

experience with the investigator at approximately five and a half years of age and remained with her for a period of two years. In the writer's opinion the best single index as to what life is doing to the children in this class would be a study of how they live as children with children. Therefore, in the following way twelve children were chosen as typical in the class: The class was ranked from highest to lowest according to their ability to live happily and successfully with other children in the room. The four children at the bottom of the list who presumably were least able to go forward successfully with their fellows were chosen; four children showing neither remarkable lacking in ability nor superior ability to go forward were taken from the middle of the list, and four from the very top of the list who seemed most able to carry forward work of the group successfully were included.

Supplementary to the choosing of a representative number of children in her own classroom, the writer asked each teacher in the fifteen different classrooms to take a similar sampling in her own room for informal comparisons.

Records

As a means of collecting the desired information about each child, the writer kept a dated record of adjustments being made by the various children to group

living in the classroom. She also included any data of activities of parents individually or in groups as they cooperated with the school in its efforts for the children. Throughout a period of two years, as the writer remained with the same group, many members left and new members came, each bringing adjustment problems.

It became necessary to know the background of each child in order to appreciate and understand his way of behavior in the classroom. In due time, the study of each case took the teacher into the home of the child. Here she learned much about the problem of human relationships in which the child was caught up. By observing the parent and child together, the writer often obtained evidences of over-protection, indulgence, severe punishment, too little affection, and a lack of responsibility. In the home visits the writer gathered valuable information about the child's relationships with parents and other persons living in the home as well as the parent's relationships with each other. She also gained greater insight into the economic status of the family and social problems in which the community was involved.

To get further facts on the community, the records of churches, clinics, courts, and other agencies working in the community were used.

In order to understand the conditions of young

children in Maury School, a knowledge of their social background is necessary. For this reason a survey has been made of the Maury School Community.

CHAPTER II

CONDITIONS OF THE MAURY SCHOOL COMMUNITY AS REVEALED BY A SURVEY

This survey of the Maury School Community was limited to the following main sub-divisions: a history of the community, the population trends, the economic, educational, religious, recreational, delinquency, health, and housing problems.

The school area studied was defined by definite street boundaries,[1] and these boundaries did not correspond to any for which statistical data were tabulated. Neither did they correspond to the areas used by social agencies nor other city departments. In Madison Ward, which covered a wide area on both sides of the James River including the main business and banking section of the city as well as a very wealthy select residential area, was the Maury School Community.[2] Census statistics were tabulated by this unit usually. Census tracts were the smallest units tabulated and corresponded most nearly to the school community.[3]

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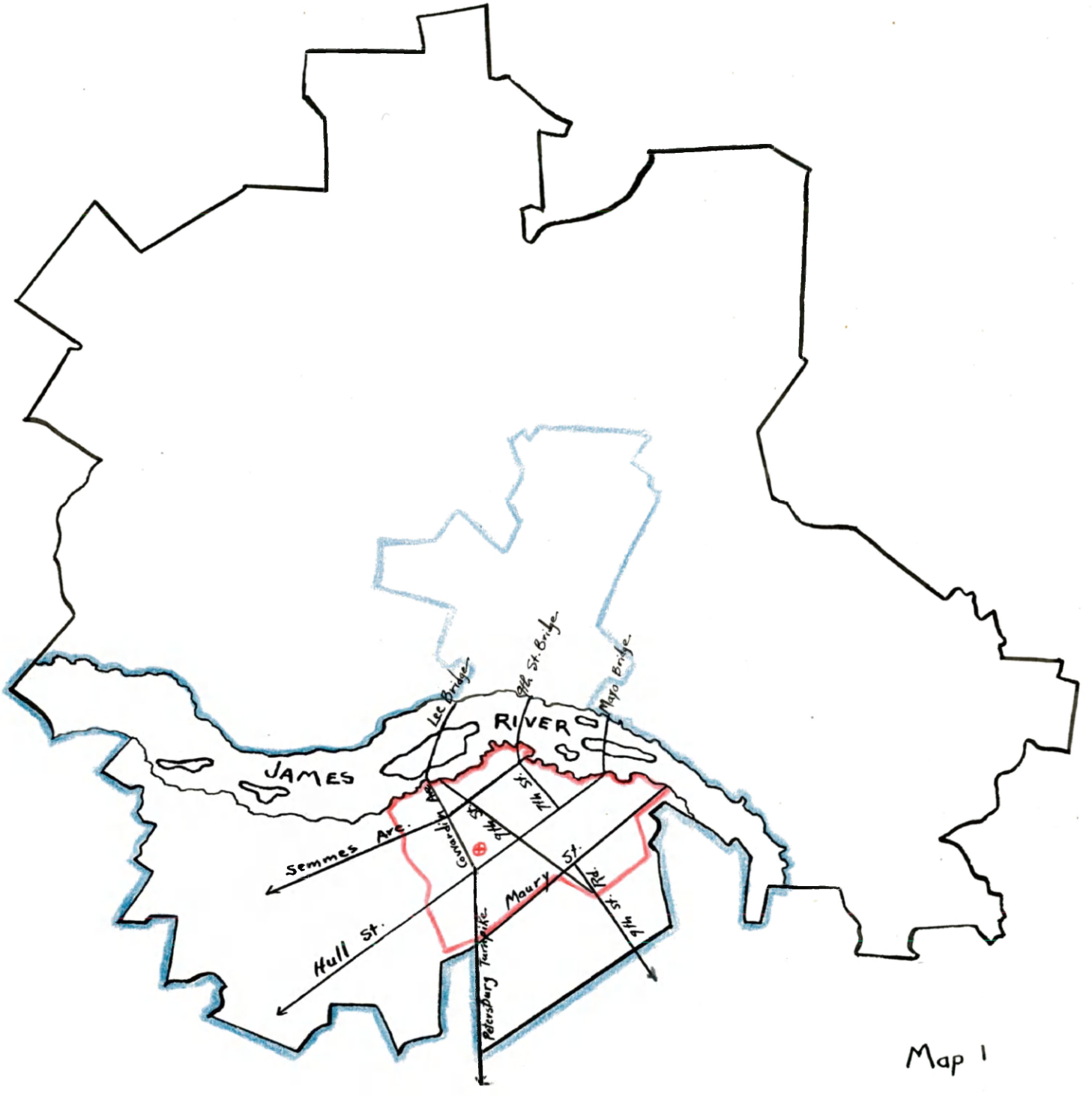
[1] Map No. 3, p. 5c.

[2] Map No. 1, p. 5a.

[3] Map No. 2, p. 5b.



Map 1

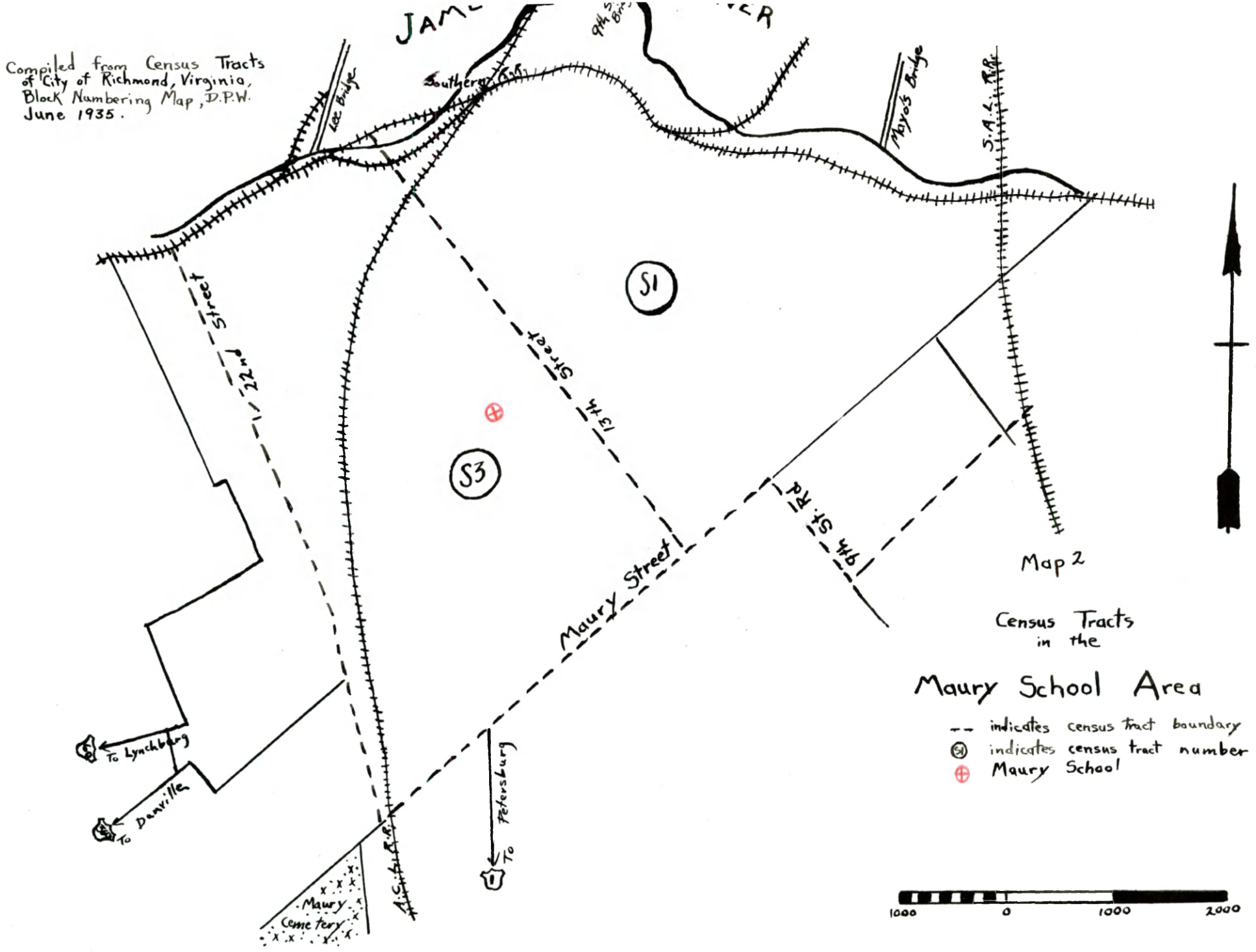
Outline Map of Richmond, Virginia

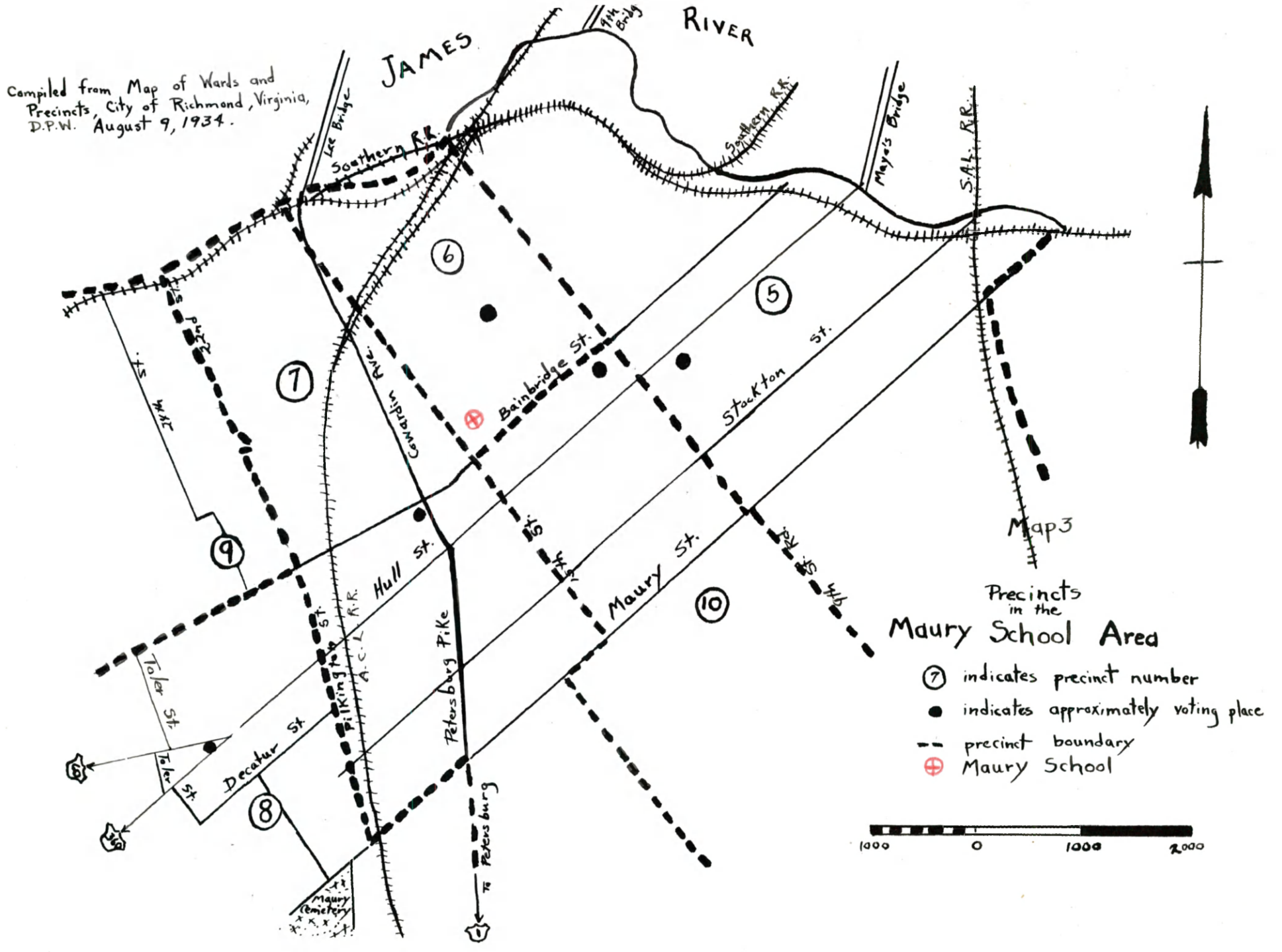
— Madison Ward

— Maury School Area

⊗ Maury School

Department of Public Works Bureau of Survey and Design
(No scale of miles given.) August 9, 1934.


Compiled from Census Tracts of City of Richmond, Virginia, Block Numbering Map, D.P.W. June 1935.
JAM
R
Lee Bridge
Southern R.R.
Mayo's Bridge
S.A.L. R.R.
22nd Street
S1
S3
13th Street
Maury Street
9th St.
To Lynchburg
To Danville
To Petersburg
A.C.L. R.R.
Maury Cemetery
Map 2
Census Tracts in the
Maury School Area
-- indicates census tract boundary
(S) indicates census tract number
Maury School
1000 0 1000 2000


Compiled from Map of Wards and Precincts, City of Richmond, Virginia, D.P.W. August 9, 1934.
JAMES RIVER
9th St. Bridge
Lee Bridge
Southern R.R.
Mayo's Bridge
S.A.L. R.R.
6
5
7
9
10
8
Bainbridge St.
Stockton St.
Hull St.
Maury St.
Decatur St.
Toler St.
Toler St.
Toler St.
Chamberlayne Ave.
Pilkington Ave.
A.C.L. R.R.
Petersburg Pike
To Petersburg
Maury Cemetery
Map3
Precincts in the Maury School Area
7 indicates precinct number
indicates approximately voting place
precinct boundary
Maury School
1000
0
1000
2000

There were voting precincts which did not correspond at all to the area studied.[1]

The neighborhood was also divided into districts according to the specific needs of many agencies, recreational centers, churches, industries, utilities and transit companies. Thus, the Maury School area was separated into numerous sections and areas and most often was a part of some larger division, which presented facts that were not true of the smaller school area.

History of the Community

The community of which Maury School is a part is in the center of the old township of Manchester, located on the James River opposite the city of Richmond. Manchester, originally known as Rocky Ridge, was incorporated in 1769; and as a continuous settlement, it actually antedated Richmond. It was on the Falls plantation just below the Seaboard Airline Bridge that William Byrd, founder of Richmond, was born. Also Fort Charles, built as a defense against Indians in 1644, was on the Manchester side of the James.

Manchester was a self-supporting community sufficient

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[1] Map No. 3, p. 5c.

unto itself for many yeers prior to and at the close of the War Letween the States. By 1879 seventy-five different branches of merchandising went on -- twenty-five times as great a business as in any period before the War. Already leaders in Manchester had formed a committee for annexation to Richmond, saying that Virginia and Richmond, her chief city, now freed from slavery, ought to prepare for that growth which slavery had rendered impossible.[1] In the statistics that this committee gathered, it was found that Richmond had been a sufferer due to the fact that slavery had not existed in the North as it had in this area. Manchester's leaders kept urging Richmond that she would have a new career of growth if she would only realize and take advantage of the situation. Manchester, at this time, was functioning under a city government of its own with a court house in the center of the city.[2] Anxiety for the city was felt by its citizens, and annexation measures were pushed. Manchester by this time was laboring under financial distress attributed to two causes: the great cost of a city government for a small population, and the want of

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[1] Report of the Committee of the Manchester Council on the Subject of the Annexation of Manchester to Richmond, 1879 (Richmond: George W. Gary, Steam Book and Job Printer, 1879), p. 8.

[2] May 28, 1879.

financial credit.

The town of Manchester was designed by nature for industry. If the canal around the falls had been built on the south side instead of the north side of the James, it is probable that the entire history of Richmond would have been very different.[1] Though located as it was, Manchester offered to the manufacturer, the investor, and the home seeker advantages unexcelled by any city in the South.[2] The city sprawled along the river hugging the James in the shape of a horse shoe. The topography of the land was especially suitable for the development of water power. Thus, Manchester with her fine transportation facilities and industrial advantages fast became a manufacturing and commercial center.

The liberality and encouragement of the city council induced manufacturers to locate in Manchester. This added to the development of the city. Many of the large establishments of Manchester have existed from 1907 until the present time.[3] Toward all these industries the city

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[1] Earle Lutz, A Richmond Album (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937), p. 126.

[2] Committee of Industry, 1907 (Richmond: Anderson Label Printing Company, Inc., 1907), p. 3.

[3] Donnan Hardware Company, Standard Oil Company, Cameron Stove Company, and Virginia Leather Company.

councilmen showed a very liberal attitude. The city of Manchester eagerly granted sites to manufacturing enterprises and liberal concessions for those wishing to establish an industry or plant; for instance, the total city tax was $1.50 on a $100.00 valuation.[1] This included curbing, paving, and sewer taxes. The tax rate was a graduated one; it was based on business done and not on capital invested. In comparison with other cities these assessments proved very low.

Manchester's wharves were just opposite the Richmond wharves, where the New York steamers loaded and unloaded. Shipping facilities, therefore, were enjoyed by all on the Manchester side of the river. Arrangements often were made for extension railroad tracks and for every convenience that might be an inducement. Many of the great trunk lines of the South passed through Manchester giving her fine shipping facilities.[2] There were street railways operating in Manchester and Richmond and an inter-urban line running between Manchester and Petersburg. As far back as 1900,

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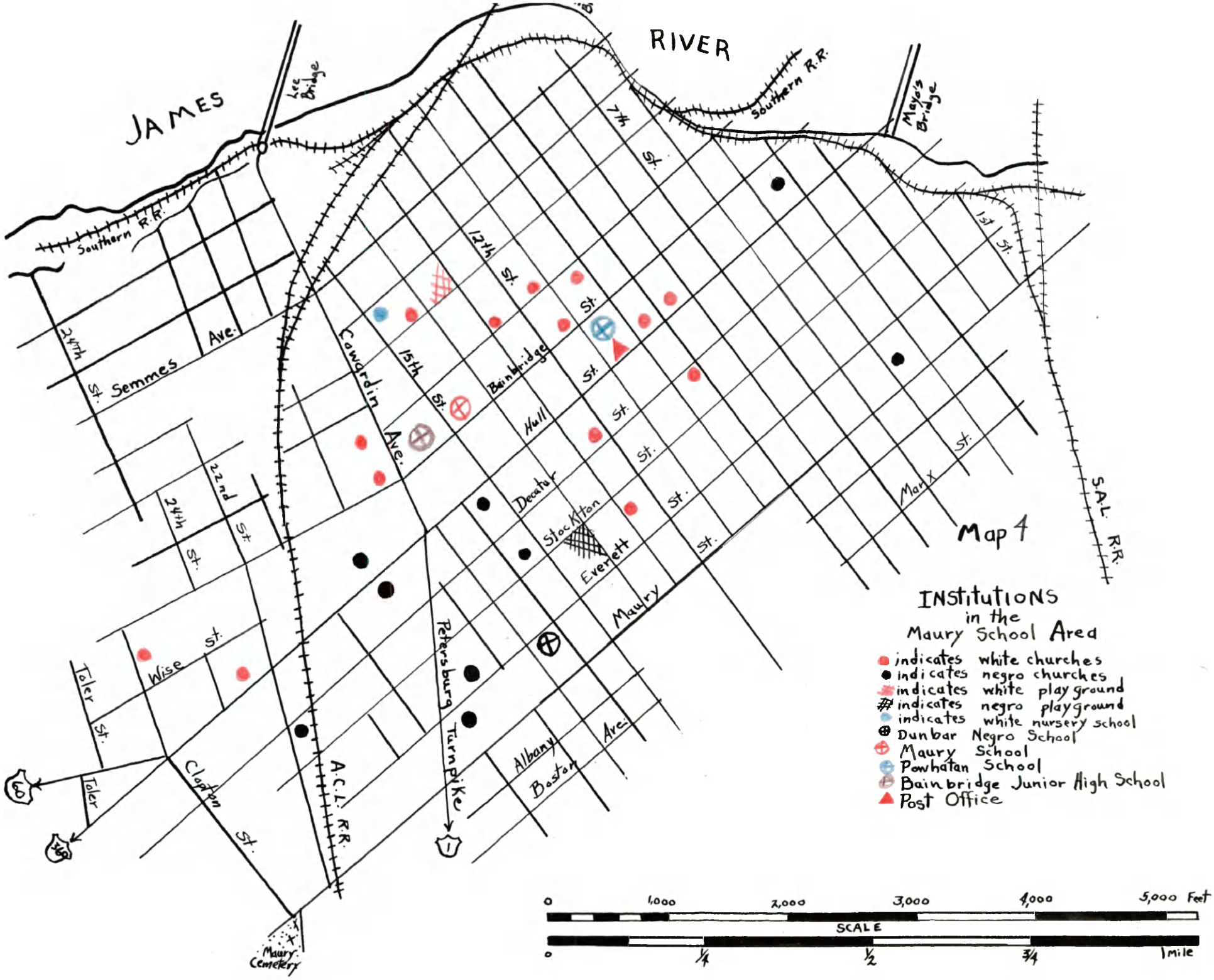
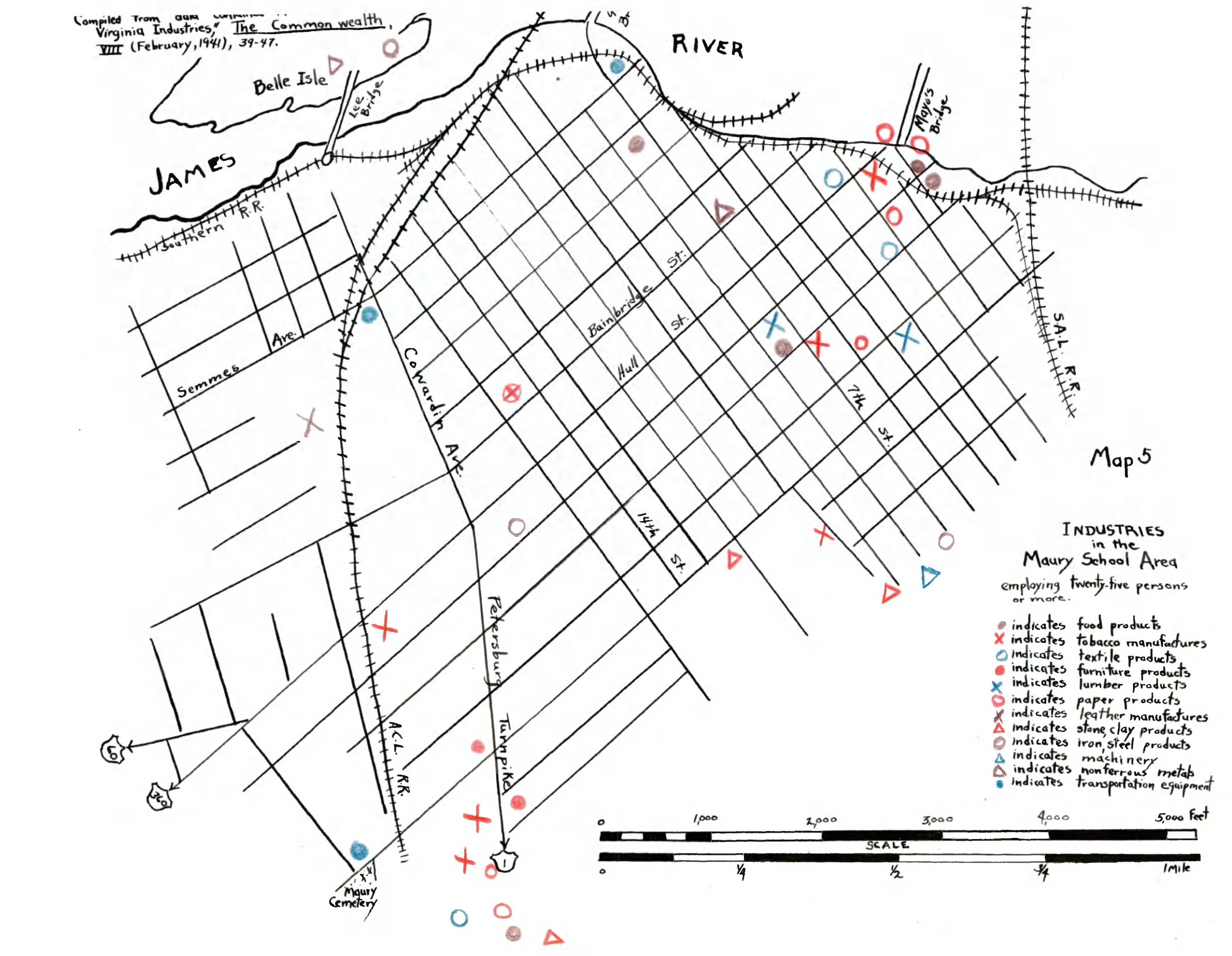
[1] Committee of Industry, 1907 (Richmond: Anderson Label Printing Company, Inc., 1907), p. 7.

[2] Southern Railroad, Seaboard Airline, and Atlantic Coast Line.


JAMES
RIVER
Lee Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
Southern R.R.
S.A.L. R.R.
A.C.L. R.R.
7th St.
12th St.
15th St.
Bainbridge St.
Hull St.
Decatur St.
Stockton St.
Everett St.
Maury St.
Marx St.
1st St.
Cowardin Ave.
Petersburg Turnpike
Albany Ave.
Boston Ave.
Clopton St.
Toler St.
Wise St.
24th St.
22nd St.
Semmes Ave.
Maury Cemetery
Map 4
INSTITUTIONS in the Maury School Area
indicates white churches
indicates negro churches
indicates white playground
indicates negro playground
indicates white nursery school
Dunbar Negro School
Maury School
Powhatan School
Bainbridge Junior High School
Post Office
0 1,000 2,000 3,000 4,000 5,000 Feet
SCALE
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 mile


Compiled from ... Virginia Industries," The Common wealth, VIII (February, 1941), 39-47.
Belle Isle
Lee Bridge
JAMES
RIVER
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
Semmes Ave.
Cowardin Ave.
Bainbridge St.
Hull St.
14th St.
7th St.
S.A.L. R.R.
Petersburg Turnpike
A.C.L. R.R.
Maury Cemetery
Map 5
INDUSTRIES in the Maury School Area
employing twenty-five persons or more.
indicates food products
indicates tobacco manufactures
indicates textile products
indicates furniture products
indicates lumber products
indicates paper products
indicates leather manufactures
indicates stone, clay products
indicates iron, steel products
indicates machinery
indicates nonferrous metals
indicates transportation equipment
0 1,000 2,000 3,000 4,000 5,000 Feet
SCALE
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 Mile

there were twenty-one miles of streets in this section with Hull Street the main business thoroughfare.[1] An interesting fact is that the main streets were named for the Naval Officers of the War of 1812. A few of these streets other than Hull are Decatur, Bainbridge, Porter, and Perry.

In Manchester there were two growing banks. By 1907 the Mechanics and Merchants Bank had a capital of $50,000.00, surplus of $40,000.00, and deposits amounting to nearly $500,000.00.[2] Three years previous to the annexation, the bank bought a desirable site on Hull Street for an enlarged banking house.[3] The Bank of Manchester, organized in 1903, had, in 1907, a capital stock of $50,000.00 and undivided profits amounting to $12,500.00. The deposits aggregated $250,000.00.[4]

The city's fire and water departments were in

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[1] Report of the Committee of the Manchester Council on the Subject of the Annexation of Manchester to Richmond, 1879 (Richmond: George W. Gary, Steam Book and Job Printer, 1879), p. 14.

[2] Committee of Industry, 1907 (Richmond: Anderson Label Printing Company, Inc., 1907), p. 11.

[3] Mechanics and Merchants Bank is now located at 1129 Hull Street.

[4] Report of the Committee of the Manchester Council, op. cit., p. 11.

operation. The city's fire department was well-equipped and included paid firemen, which caused Manchester to have a lower fire insurance rate. There was a water system with a filtering plant that gave the city clear pure drinking water.

Churches and schools were being built throughout Manchester. In 1907 there were churches of many Protestant faiths and one Catholic Church.[1] The school facilities were considered fine, and a corps of teachers was employed. A new high school was in course of erection, and the school system was being perfected.[2] There were twenty-nine public schools in Manchester -- twenty were white and nine were colored.[3] There were also several private schools and a private kindergarten.

New homes were occupied as soon as they were completed. Building plots were bought and sold at low rates. By 1907 the citizens had gas and electric light facilities at reasonable rates for their homes. The streets were lighted with electric lights.[4]

By shrewdness in trading with her sister city,

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[1] Committee of Industry, 1907 (Richmond: Anderson Label Printing Company, Inc., 1907), p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

[3] Ibid., p. 9.

[4] Ibid., p. 11.

consolidation came in 1910 and culminated a move that had been gaining momentum over a period of years. First one city and then the other would be keen for the union; however, it took nearly forty years for both to approve the idea at the same time. Thus in 1910 when Manchester became a part of Richmond, it enjoyed some advantages which Richmond did not have; such as, cheaper sites for factories and cheaper homes. All of these opportunities demanded a growing employment and brought an increasing population.

Today, the area that once was spoken of as Manchester may be reached by crossing any of the three bridge approaches from the downtown section of Richmond. As one crosses these bridges black smoke, grey smoke, white smoke, yellow smoke from smokestacks and factory chimneys may be seen curling, twisting, and winding its dirty dusty way over the community. As the factories and mills yawned and belched forth the dirt and grease, it was absorbed into the clothes and breathed into the bodies of the community's inhabitants, young and old. This is a nondescript community, smoke-ridden on the edges, surrounded by factories, railroad yards, and spur tracks. Negroes have come in increasing numbers. As is usually the case, here one sees a section of the community giving the evidence of being speedily thrown up -- cheaply built, and crowded closely together upon cheap sites. Streets were badly paved; many were of the

original cobblestone type. Sidewalks were well beaten paths. Houses packed closely together with no grass or flowers in the small yards had inhabitants standing in doorways and overflowing into the streets from overhanging porches. At the same time and on the same block, there were some homes with an air of responsibility and calmness. In them lived the old families of the township of Manchester -- the remnant that had not moved away. The old families with old ideas, old thoughts, old houses, hung on with old expressions and excuses for staying in the community; these single spots of beauty always stood out. The people that owned and cared for their homes were few. The population, generally, was a shifting one which moved around from block to block in the community and on to the fringe of another undesirable residential section of the city, leaving unpaid balances. When they went to Hull Street they spoke of going down town. On this street were department stores, banks, bakeries, drug stores, automobile salesrooms, a post office, pool parlors, and movie houses. There was an air of a small town community where people shopped and talked and on Saturdays many congregated. So the situation lacked unity and charm and beauty. The picture was one of ever enfringing factories and fast depreciating homes; a community which once was a desirable self-sufficient town.

Population Trends

Accurate statistics on the population of the section studied were impossible to compute. The census reports of 1890 showed 9,246 persons living in Manchester. This report included that area previously described and taken in by the city of Richmond in 1910 as well as the surrounding country. Again in 1900 the same thing was true when the statistics for Manchester reported 9,715 inhabitants. In 1907 a census was taken of all this territory for annexation purposes, and 15,000 were found living in Manchester. In 1910 the official census included the Maury School community in its report for the city and not by census tracts as in 1930. The 1930 population of the community was computed by census tracts. As census tracts S^1 and S^3 corresponded closely with the area studied, those are the statistics quoted. Several children from a few families came from census tract S^2, but no figures quoted from the census tracts included those children. The 1930 census tracts S^1 and S^3 reported 10,344 population for this community.[1] As a check and in order to determine the number of whites and negroes in the area, the population was computed by

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[1] A Report of the City Planning Commission Relative to Housing and Other Planning Matters (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, January, 1938).

enumeration districts in Madison Ward of which it is a part.[1] It was found that there was a population of 7,444 white persons and 3,215 negroes. Population figures by color, for the enumeration districts in Madison Ward that covered the Maury School area from the 1930 census are found in Table I.

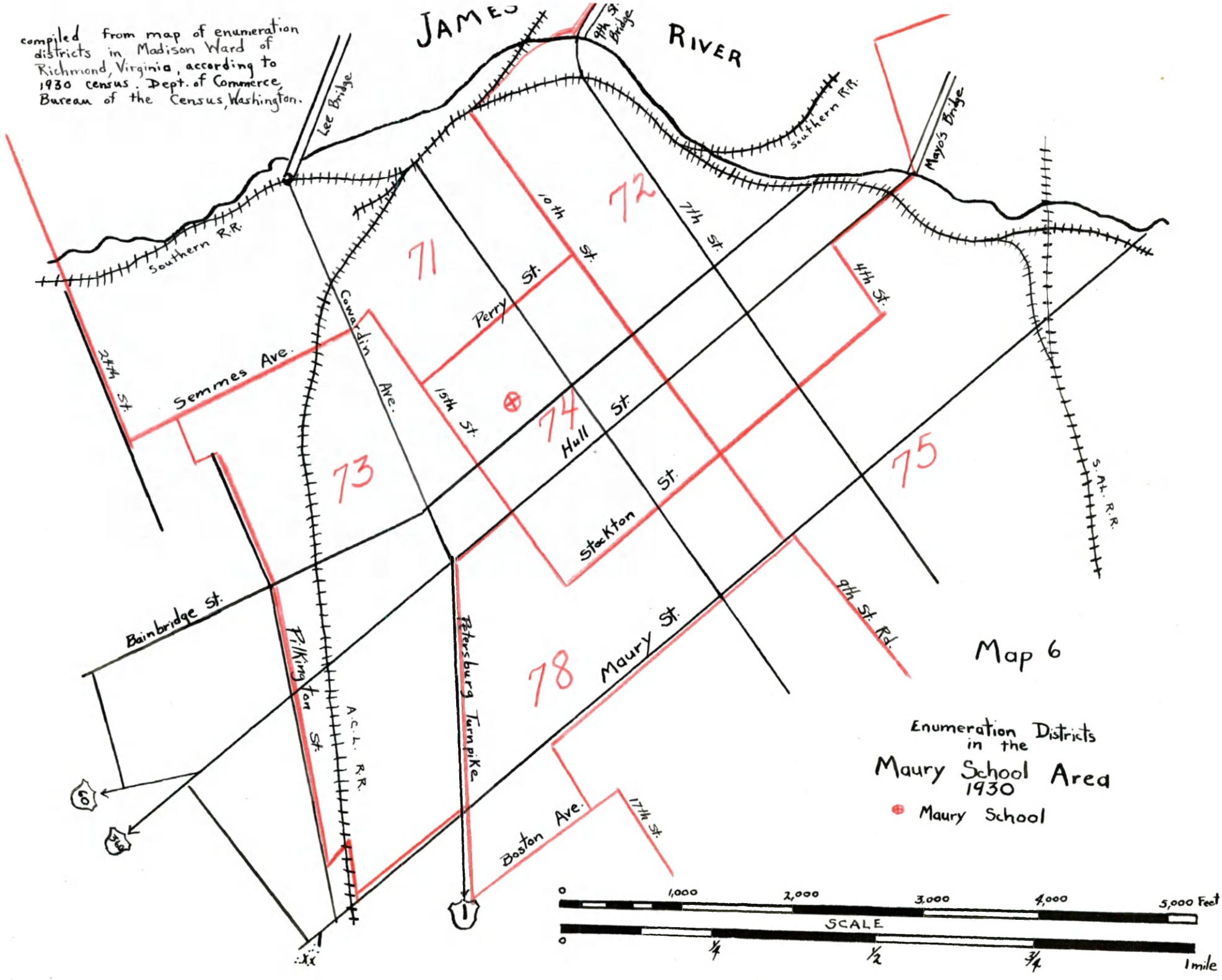
TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITES AND BLACKS BY ENUMERATION DISTRICTS IN THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, 1930[2]

Enumeration District	White	Negro
71	1,515	3
72	1,548	226
73	911	1,072
74	2,091	224
75	717	256
78	662	1,434
	7,444	3,215

[1] Map 6, p. 15a.

[2] From unpublished office material compiled specially for the writer by Leon E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., May 31, 1940.


compiled from map of enumeration districts in Madison Ward of Richmond, Virginia, according to 1930 census. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington.
JAMES RIVER
9th St. Bridge
Lee Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
Southern R.R.
10th St.
7th St.
4th St.
Perry St.
Cowardin Ave.
24th St.
Semmes Ave.
15th St.
Hull St.
Stockton St.
Bainbridge St.
Pilkington St.
A.C.L. R.R.
Petersburg Turnpike
Maury St.
9th St. Rd.
Boston Ave.
17th St.
S.A.L. R.R.
71
72
73
74
75
78
60
301
1
Map 6
Enumeration Districts in the Maury School Area 1930
Maury School
0
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000 Feet
SCALE
0
1/4
1/2
3/4
1 mile

To verify further the population facts about the community, the writer obtained from the Richmond Community Council their computed population for the Maury School area for 1930 as 7,180 whites and 3,164 negroes.[1] The foreign born population was not a problem. The foreigners in the community were respectable, owned their homes and businesses in most instances, and were good citizens trying to better themselves and the opportunities of their children. There were less than twelve foreign born parents in the community and not a foreign born child.[2]

A large number of negroes inhabitated the area studied. By observation and questioning old inhabitants, the negro population was believed to be on the increase as more and more they pushed into the community. Almost one half of the area was populated by negroes.[3] The areas inhabitated by negroes were on Decatur, south from 14th to the railroad tracks and south of the tracks, west along 25th and Clopton Streets. Families of negroes lived in and among

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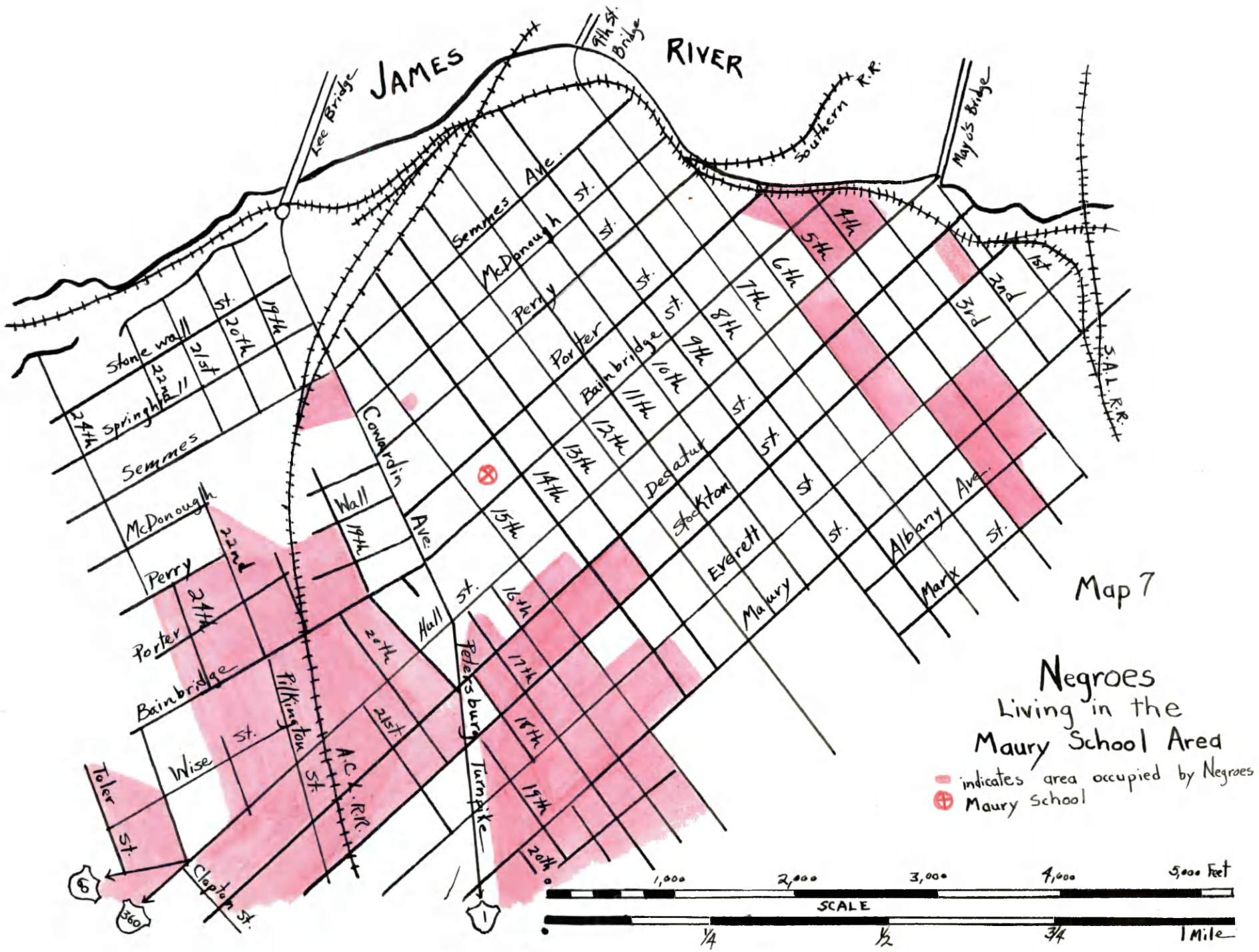
[1] A Report of the Richmond Community Council Research Bureau, 1939.

[2] A Chinese boy entered Maury School on March 24, 1941. The child was a Chinese Refugee who came to live with Charlie Woo, the Chinese laundryman on Hull Street.

[3] Map 7, p. 16a.


JAMES RIVER
Lee Bridge
9th St. Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
S.A.L. R.R.
Semmes Ave.
McDonough
Perry
Porter
Bainbridge
Decatur
Stockton
Everett
Maury
Albany Ave.
Marx
Hull St.
Peters burg Turnpike
Conwardin Ave.
Wall
Springhill
Stone wall
Fillkington St.
A.C.L. R.R.
Toler St.
Wise St.
Clopton St.
1st
2nd
3rd
4th
5th
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
12th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
20th
21st
22nd
24th
Map 7
Negroes
Living in the
Maury School Area
indicates area occupied by Negroes
Maury School
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000 Feet
SCALE
1/4
1/2
3/4
1 Mile

the white homes. The negro district from East 14th Street to East 18th Street and on West 22nd Street was the renting district of the colored area. Many boys and girls walked through these two Negro sections in order to get to Maury School. City-wide social workers have declared the two rental sections through which the children came, to be the worst in Richmond. Many of the negro leaders in Richmond came from the area studied. The working negroes owned their homes and lived on the blocks from East 18th to East 21st Streets. Thus, a very fine well-thought-of negro section, inhabited by leading negro citizens who owned their homes, was being closed in on two sides by the worst colored districts in the city. Here we found large negro families living in homes in which "star boarders" abounded.[1]

The continued presence of a negro group living within and at the same time apart from the white community, obviously created many intricate problems. Under the circumstances this survey can do little more than focus attention upon the fact, that out of a group of approximately 10,000 persons, many colored lived close to the white people and often side by side.

In a report of the Negro Welfare Survey Committee the

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[1] Personal interview of the writer, interviewed Mrs. Moody, a case worker from the Social Service Bureau, May 21, 1940.

negroes in Richmond were dying more rapidly than the whites.[1] By observation white women in the community seemed much older than their years. Whether they died more rapidly or at a younger age than the city-wide average could not be determined.[2]

Economic Conditions

The average family income in the school was $65.00 monthly.[3] "A very high percentage are on relief. The economic level is W.P.A. level, that is from $40.00 to $50.00 a month."[4] In one classroom of 32 children there were 14 homes in which neither parent was employed. In another room (27 children) neither parent in 12 homes was working. A portion of Maury School children were mobile; that is, the families moved around on the edge of the city from one like area to another, picked up a job for a few days, lost or left it, and moved on again. No planning for

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[1] "Report of the Negro Welfare Survey Committee", The Negro in Richmond, Virginia (Richmond Council of Social Agencies, 1929), p. 47.

[2] Appendix 1.

[3] Personal interviews of the writer, interviewed Mrs. McNeil, school nurse, who worked many years in the community, April 4, 1940 and interviewed Miss Mattie Walker, teacher in Maury School who knew the community well, March 29, 1940.

[4] Personal interview of the writer, interviewed Mr. A. Clair Sager, Juvenile Officer, Juvenile and Domestic Relation Court, March 31, 1941.

future jobs was thought of. Usually when seeking employment, they took any job they were offered and kept it a very short time.

In June, 1935, there were ninety-six colored and white persons combined receiving city relief or 9.3 per 1,000 population.[1] Census Tract S[1] had on Federal Relief in June, 1935, the largest number of white cases in any census tract in the city of Richmond. There were 172 white families receiving Federal Relief. In the entire area there were 366 white and colored on Federal Relief or 35.4 per 1,000 population.[2] The total city and Federal Relief cases (white and colored) for 1935 were 462 or 44.7 per 1,000 population.[3]

Cash on relief was $6.50 per person with a graduated decreasing scale for each person in the family; such as, $10.18 for two people. There were no persons who owned cars on relief unless there was a specified reason. One family in the community received cash relief and owned a car

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[1] A Report of the City Planning Commission Relative to Housing and Other Planning Matters (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, January, 1938).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

because that was the only way the man in the family, a cripple, could get around. The people, however, bought their cars after they got on Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.). Persons owning cars or trucks in their work often received aid from community agencies. From the 434 children's homes all but 68 had received aid from one or more of the Community Fund Agencies.[1] Out of one room of twenty-nine children all but one family had received help from one or more agencies of the Community Fund in a period from 1932 - 1939.[2] Records have been kept by agencies since 1924; and when these were traced, it was found that the same families had received aid consistantly throughout the years. Grandparents of the children studied had borne children who had married, and all were receiving aid from the city. Mothers, older children, aunts, and grandparents in the homes did not try to make handicrafts to sell while they all sat around. Too content were the inhabitants to remain in the same old rut.

The number of telephones in a residential area was used as a measure of the economical status of the community. In the class studied there was one home with a telephone.

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[1] Richmond Social Service Exchange, May 7, 1940.

[2] This check is of the writer's class.

The following chart shows the number in the homes of the Maury School children.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF TELEPHONES IN HOMES OF MAURY SCHOOL CHILDREN, 1940

Classrooms	Number of Children	Homes with Telephones	Homes Represented[1]
Junior Primary	26	1	26
Junior Primary	27	2	27
Junior Primary	29	3	29
Junior Primary	28	1	27
Junior Primary	29	2	29
Junior Primary	30	2	30
Junior Primary	29	4	29
Junior Primary	29	1	29
Second	29	1	29
Second	27	3	27
Second	34	1	34
Third	28	2	28
Third	33	1	32
Third	33	3	33
Third	23	3	23
15	434	30	432

[1] The 434 children come from 237 homes. Only two rooms have two children from the same family.

Here was a large group of economically handicapped persons who lived for the most part in overcrowded unsanitary homes, who were forced to see their children casually protected while they worked, who often had no knowledge of health rules, nor money to buy medical attention, and whose labor was abnormally unstandardized and unproductive. Generally, spare time was not used profitably. People sat on porch steps in the summer and by the kitchen stove during the winter. They lacked ability, initiative, and inspiration to find things to do, and once employed they did not hold their jobs. Lacking effective planning and in most cases no planning at all, the gains that could have been made by the beneficial use of pay checks were lost. Effective planning did not come in the envelope with the pay, and so life went on in a continuous struggle. Inferior economic status of this community involved the irregular employment and low wages of men, the employment of mothers of young children outside of the home for long hours, and poor opportunity for economic advancement generally. This problem was related to almost every problem in this community, including poor health, old appearance, bad housing conditions, transient population, and particularly a lack of education.

Education

The formal education of the adults in the community was limited.[1] Few parents completed high school. Many did not read or write. Out of a group of 29 families in the writer's class all of the mothers attended school, 11 entered high school, one mother completed her high school education and had a year in a State Teachers' College. Twenty-seven of the fathers had begun school. One father was known to have stopped in the second grade, another father dropped out in the fifth grade,[2] only 5 entered high school, and none attended a higher institution of learning. One father could not write his name. In a second classroom of 31 children, 19 fathers went to school.[3] Of these,3 fathers completed high school, and none went to college or had any further school education.

Their responses to situations are presented here to

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[1] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mr. Brauer, Department of Public Works, who said, "No survey has been made by the D.P.W. and none by any individual or group that I know of, but you can rest assured that the education of the people that live in these houses is on the same low type as the homes they live in." January 13, 1941.

[2] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Miss Mattie Walker who taught the 2 fathers and knew when they left school. October 11, 1940.

[3] Question asked children by own classroom teacher. (Thus situation not changed by new person coming in to question group. The remaining 12 fathers in this group were either not known, separated, divorced, or dead.)

give a picture of the educational status of the parents. Parents' unwillingness to cooperate with the school often was because of lack of understanding or ignorance. One afternoon the teacher spent a half hour in one of the least objectionable homes talking with the grandmother of one child trying to show her that the child's eating certain foods should not be the sole topic of conversation during each meal. He now knew that each meal was the time to cause everyone untold misery. The teacher asked the grandmother to put breakfast on the table and change the conversation. She explained that it was all right if the child did not eat several meals. When he became hungry, he would eat. The grandmother agreed; and as the teacher was leaving, called the child in and said immediately, "Miss W. eats a good breakfast every morning. She eats toast, milk, and an egg, and she says it's good for boys to eat a good breakfast." Another example was that of Mrs. Toms,[1] who often comes to school. On these occasions she does not come into the room or enter into any of the activities, but she stands at the door and bellows out, "Now you be a good boy. You do as your teacher says, you hear, or I'll beat you when you get home." Again, Mrs. Mann was talking to the teacher, "I

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[1] The material describes actual persons, but the names are fictitious throughout the study.

don't know why he done it. He don't mean no harm. I'm going to tell his Pa to beat him up tonight." Thus we see that they want to do the right thing but are not capable.

The writer obtained additional information about the lack of educational and cultural background of the parents from the letters which they wrote concerning absences and other matters. The manner of writing, the attitude of the writer, his language and his concepts were used as indications of his educational status.[1] These are the facts: none of the notes which the teacher received were on a whole sheet of paper; some were written upon pieces of brown paper bags; several times notes were written on paper that had been erased in order that it might be used. As shown by information secured from personal contacts with parents, clinical findings and city and school records, many people had little school education.

Educational status is elusive and did not lend itself very readily to objective measurement. Some data may be taken as evidence of educational status. May not what a person reads be of greater value than whether he can read? As an evidence of cultural status the circulation of newspapers in the area was considered such a measure. The two generally recognized papers published in the city, one a

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1 Appendix 2.

morning and the other an evening paper, had high circulation rates along the Hull Street Area.[1] This seemed to give no reliable check because the sale of newspapers in the area bore no relationship to the persons living nearby, but were sold to people passing through the city and to executives who read as they ate in the drug stores and confectionaries.

From this community in 1938, 630 white pupils went to elementary schools in the Maury district.[2] To Maury School came 434 children.[3] During the same year 435 pupils went to Bainbridge Junior High School;[4] 150 children from this area attended senior high school. Dunbar, the Negro Elementary School in the Maury School area had 585 negro pupils.[5]

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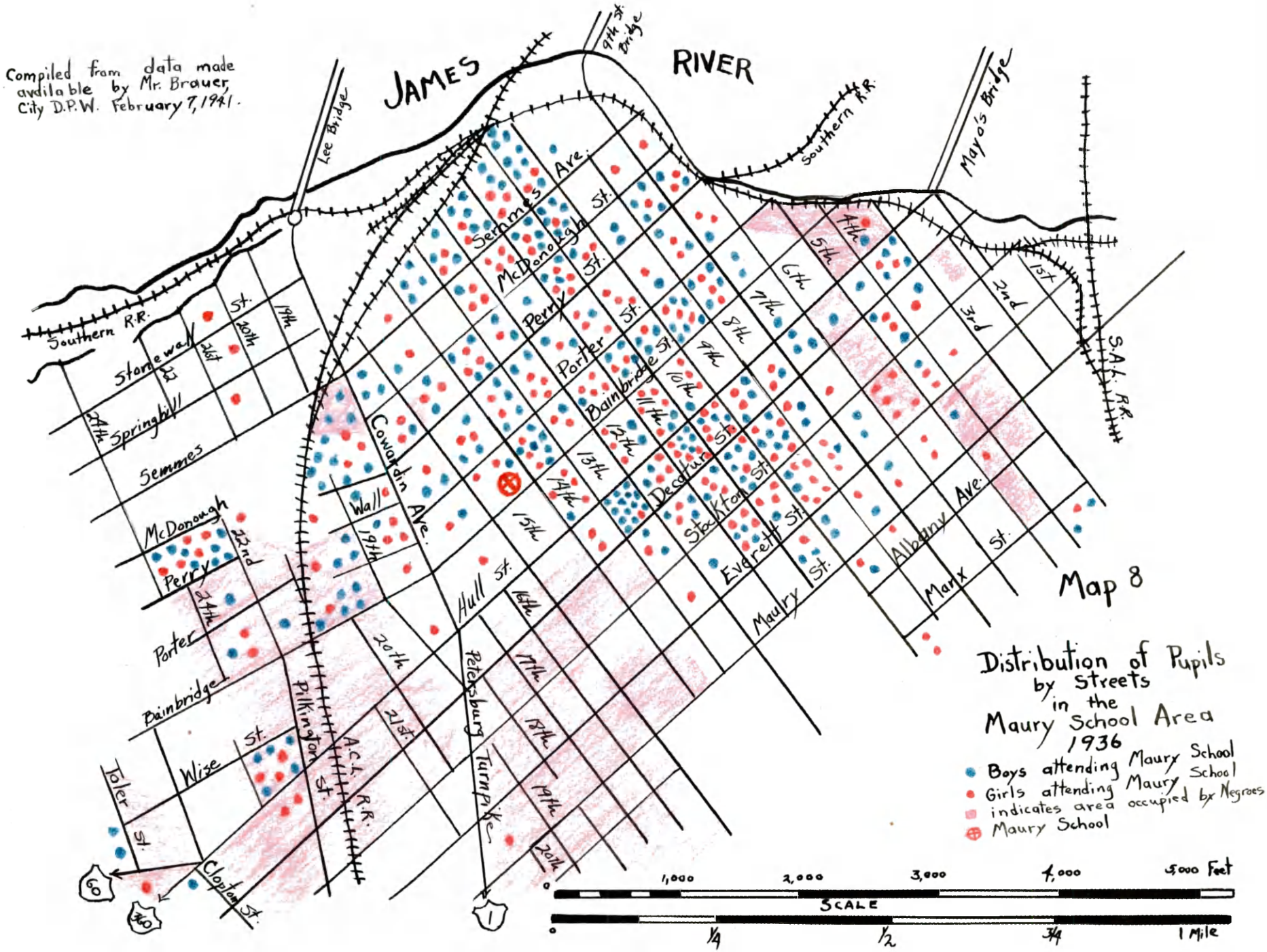
[1] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mr. Leadbetter, Circulation Manager of The Richmond News Leader, in which he said the circulation of the newspaper in a section south of the James River which corresponded most nearly to the Maury School Area was 2,935, March 7, 1941.

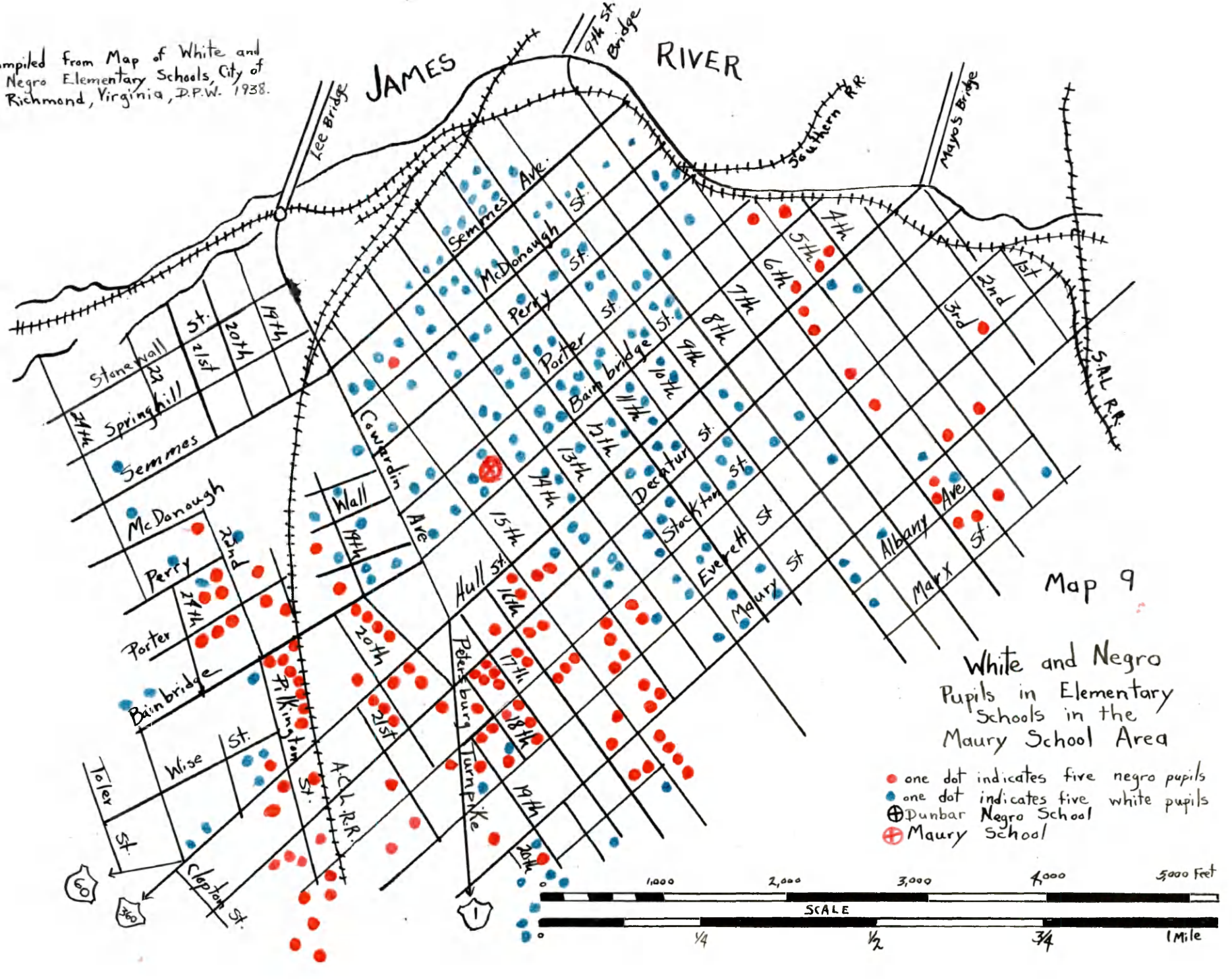
[2] Prepared map of White Elementary Schools (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, 1938). Map 9, p. 26b.

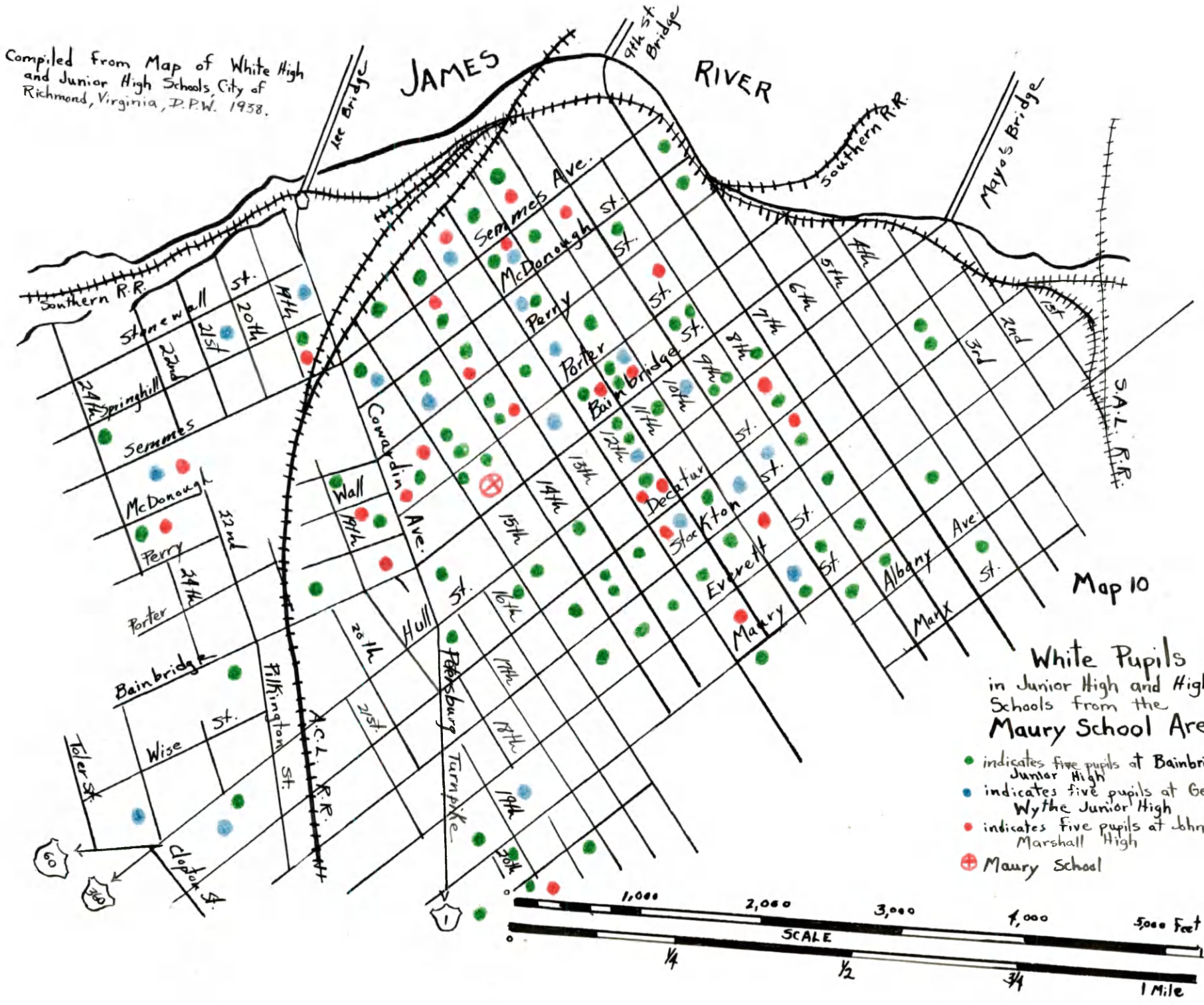
[3] From Maury School Files of Daily Membership taken from the School Office Register, Daily Report on February 28, 1941. By a careful check of individual record cards the writer found that the 434 children came from 237 families. (It must be remembered that Maury School went through the third grade only.)

[4] Prepared map of White High and Junior High Schools (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, 1938). Map 10, p. 26c.

[5] Prepared map of Negro Elementary Schools (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, 1938). Map 9, p. 26b.


Compiled from data made available by Mr. Brauer, City D.P.W. February 7, 1941.
JAMES RIVER
9th St. Bridge
Lee Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
Seminres Ave.
McDonough St.
Perry St.
Porter St.
Bainbridge St.
Decatur St.
Stockton St.
Everett St.
Maury St.
Albany Ave.
Marx St.
S.A.L. R.R.
Stonewall St.
Springhill
Semmes
McDonough
Perry
Porter
Bainbridge
Wise St.
Toler St.
Cloyden St.
Cowardin Ave.
Wall
Hull St.
Petersburg Turnpike
Pilkington St.
A.C.L. R.R.
1st
2nd
3rd
4th
5th
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
12th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
20th
21st
22nd
23rd
24th
26th
28th
Map 8
Distribution of Pupils by Streets in the Maury School Area 1936
Boys attending Maury School
Girls attending Maury School
indicates area occupied by Negroes
Maury School
SCALE
0
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000 Feet
1/4
1/2
3/4
1 Mile
60
460
1


Compiled from Map of White and Negro Elementary Schools, City of Richmond, Virginia, D.P.W. 1938.
JAMES RIVER
Lee Bridge
9th St. Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
S.A.L. R.R.
A.C.L. R.R.
Semmes Ave.
McDonough St.
Perry St.
Porter St.
Bainbridge St.
Decatur St.
Stockton St.
Everett St.
Maury St.
Albany Ave.
Marx St.
Cowardin Ave.
Hull St.
Petersburg Turnpike
Pilkington St.
Wise St.
Toler St.
Clopton St.
Stonewall
Springhill
1st
2nd
3rd
4th
5th
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
12th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
20th
21st
22
23
24th
Map 9
White and Negro Pupils in Elementary Schools in the Maury School Area
one dot indicates five negro pupils
one dot indicates five white pupils
Dunbar Negro School
Maury School
0
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000 Feet
SCALE
0
1/4
1/2
3/4
1 Mile
60
360
1


Compiled from Map of White High and Junior High Schools City of Richmond, Virginia, P.P.W. 1938.
JAMES RIVER
Lee Bridge
9th St. Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
Semmes Ave.
McDonough St.
Perry St.
Porter St.
Bainbridge St.
Decatur St.
Stockton St.
Everett St.
Maury St.
Albany Ave.
Mark St.
Cowardin Ave.
Hull St.
Petersburg Turnpike
Fulkington St.
A.C.L. R.R.
S.A.L. R.R.
Stonewall St.
Springhill
Wise St.
Toler St.
Clopton St.
1st
2nd
3rd
4th
5th
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
12th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
20th
21st
22nd
24th
Map 10
White Pupils
in Junior High and High Schools from the
Maury School Area
indicates five pupils at Bainbridge Junior High
indicates five pupils at George Wythe Junior High
indicates five pupils at John Marshall High
Maury School
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000 Feet
SCALE
1/4
1/2
3/4
1 Mile

When a distribution of school population by grades was examined, the first grade was seen to be most heavily loaded in 1936 and in 1941.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL POPULATION IN MAURY SCHOOL BY GRADES, 1936[1]

	Boys	Girls	Total
1 C 1 L 1 H	93	75	168
Second	68	73	141
Third	70	51	121
Total	231	199	430

[1] Income and Cost Analysis - Maury School Direct Allocation, 1936. (An unpublished tabulation made available by Mr. Brauer, Department of Public Works, February 8, 1941.)

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL POPULATION IN MAURY SCHOOL BY GRADES, 1941[1]

	Boys	Girls	Total
Junior Primary[2]	112	70	182
Second	64	49	113
Third	79	60	139
Total	255	179	434

Due to a different school set-up and differences in policy regarding promotion, many children remained in the first grade in 1936. This seemed to explain the overcrowded first grade situation in that year. Since 1936 children have entered school in the Junior Primary at 5½ years of age and remained in the group for a two-year period before going into the second grade. The fact remained that until 1936

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[1] Maury School files of Daily Membership taken from Office Register, Daily Report of February 28, 1941.

[2] Junior Primary corresponds to Kindergarten and the First Grade. It is a beginning two year period of school and is compulsory.

children entered school in large numbers; and as the years passed, children dropped out. A class of 35 boys and girls who entered a first grade at Maury School in 1936 were traced and five years later, 1941, 15 of them were in the fifth grade at Powhatan School.[1]

Religion

Religion was a potent influence in the lives of the families in the community. Children attended services on week nights as well as Sunday. There was one Catholic Church and a number of Protestant Churches in the community.[2] Each Church had its "get-togethers" in the form of church suppers, group meetings and services in the homes of individuals. The Churches of the poor people seemed to have a strong and growing influence. There were two Pilgrim Churches,[3] one Pentacostal,[4] one Seventh Day Pentacostal,[5]

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[1] Powhatan School has the fourth and fifth grades and children leaving the third grade at Maury go to that school. Map 4, p. 9a.

[2] Sacred Heart Catholic and St. Luke's High Episcopal, Cowardin Avenue Christian, Porter Street Methodist, Porter Street Presbyterian, Decatur Street Methodist, Weatherford Memorial Baptist, Bainbridge Street Baptist, Stockton Street Baptist. Map 4, p. 9a.

[3] Pilgrim Church, E. Broad Rock Road at Decatur. Pilgrim Church, 12th and Decatur. Map 4, p. 9a.

[4] Pentacostal Church, 1201 Porter Street. Map 4, p. 9a.

[5] Seventh Day Pentacostal, 7 N. Maury Street. Map 4, p. 9a.

one First Pentacostal,[1] and two Store Front Churches.[2] Several churches outside of this community had strong pull upon the population: they were The Church of God,[3] The Seventh Day Adventist,[4] and The Church of the Brethren.[5] Two families in the school attended the Greek Orthodox Church,[6] and one family attended the Lutheran Church.[7] Both of these churches were outside of the community. There were many colored churches in the community: eight Baptist, one Methodist, and one Holy Roller.

The community went in crowds great distances for revivals, church nights, and prayer nights. "The disciples walked for miles and miles, and we can walk, too, because we don't have it so hard." This was the reason given by Mrs. Jones for going to a church in another and distant section of town. At funerals the cultural limits of the people were shown. One was reminded of native ceremonies. Clothes were

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[1] First Pentacostal, 2413 Hull Street. Map 4, p. 9a.

[2] South Richmond Goodwill Center, 331 W. 7th Street. Southside Mission, 802 Hull Street. Map 4, p. 9a.

[3] The Church of God, 500 W. Main Street.

[4] Seventh Day Adventist, Patterson and Revely Street.

[5] The Church of the Brethren, 2213 E. Broad Street.

[6] Greek Orthodox Church, 2 W. Main Street.

[7] Lutheran Church, Monument Avenue and Lombardy Street.

borrowed from far and wide. Tables were filled with food. Mantles were banked with artificial flowers. Remarks and comments flew thick and fast. "They sure did lay him away beautiful." "She had all our Christmas presents all bought and ready. They were wrapped up so pretty." There was weeping and wailing, and often the funeral services lasted throughout the afternoon with walking processionals to the cemetery which was on the edge of the community.

Most of the children go regularly to Sunday School. Of the twenty-nine children in the group studied, one attended St. Luke's High Episcopal; one, Cowardin Avenue Christian; three, Porter Street Methodist; two, Porter Street Presbyterian; five, Decatur Street Methodist; two, Weatherford Memorial Methodist; two, Bainbridge Street Baptist; two, Stockton Street Baptist; one, "I don't go to any. I just go to first one and then the other"; one, Pentacostal Holiness; two, Church of God; two, Seventh Day Adventist; and one, Church of the Brethren. Four said they went but did not know where.

In another group of thirty-three, the writer found ten churches represented. Fifteen were Baptist; five, Methodist; three, Presbyterian; four, Christian; one, Episcopalian; two, Catholic; one, Lutheran; and one, Greek Orthodox. In similar fashion a check was made of two other

classes.[1]

Recreation in the Community

The commercial recreational facilities in the community were found along the main thoroughfare, Hull Street. Here the white amusement area stretched from 7th Street to Cowardin Avenue; the negro amusement district on Hull Street was from Cowardin Avenue to 21st Street.

There were three theatres in this area: the Venus and the Ponton for white people, the Lincoln for the negroes. There were no operatic, dramatic, or musical performances available. Roy Baker and his cowboys came occasionally. The Venus and the Ponton were considered the places to go by all the community. In earlier days both theatres enjoyed a doubtful reputation. Bottles were thrown about, people were always being ushered out, talking and much loud laughing continued throughout the performances. The Ponton was a cheaper theatre, and cheaper crowds attended. The management of both theatres catered to the mobs. On Saturday there were always Wild West Cowboy shoot 'em ups. During the week first-class pictures were shown on their re-runs in Richmond. The management of the Venus always brought the better rated children's pictures by

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[1] Table 5, p. 33.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF RELIGIONS REPRESENTED IN FOUR CLASSROOMS, 1940

Grade	Number of children	Religions																	
		Baptist	Methodist	Presbyterian	Christian	Episcopal	Lutheran[1]	Greek[1]	Catholic	Christadelphian	Church of God	Church of the Brethren[1]	Seven Day Adventist	Pentecostal Holiness	Salvation Army	"Attend, but don't know where."	"I go to first one and then another."	"Used to go."	None
First	29	4	10	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	0	0
Second	33	14	5	3	4	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Third	26	15	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	0
Third	30	9	4	2	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	5	0
Total	118	42	21	8	7	5	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	6	6	3	2	7	0

[1] These people go out of the community to church.

demand from churches and schools. Little white boys often attended the Lincoln.

On Hull Street were two pool parlors: one for the whites and one for the colored. For the white people there was a bowling alley. On the corner of 15th and Hull was a white dance hall with a shady reputation. One negro dance hall was in this area. The negro dances were always enjoyed and usually sponsored.

The non-commercial recreational facilities were fewer. A look into the equipment of the community for recreational purposes showed eight auditoriums with stages, one auditorium space only, three gymnasiums, eight available club rooms, and one motion picture machine. There was one park, that being the Court House Square where spots of grass covered ground were seen.

In the neighborhood studied the playground facilities were extremely limited with regard to site and equipment and functioned only a part of the year. They remained open only six months. The playground at 13th and Perry opened on April 15th for the white children. At the same time one opened for the colored children at 14th and Stockton Streets. In most instances the children played in the streets, for the two playgrounds were small. These could not be enlarged because they were crowded in by houses and street boundaries.

In the community there were no swimming pools; but as

soon as the weather warmed up, the boys took to the James River. One wading pool for white children was on the Court House green. When the month of June came and school ended, the fountain on the north side of the Court House was turned on and small children waded. There were no lending libraries as such. The three schools have libraries from which children get their books that were provided by the school funds and the State and City Public Libraries. During the summer months the schools closed, and so the library facilities were not available. The City Library had a branch library at the Junior High School for the summer months. This service was also open to the adults of the community during the winter from 3 o'clock to 5 o'clock each Wednesday afternoon. Sunday School teachers in the various churches bought books and allowed the boys and girls to take them home on various occasions. These libraries were small and usually not of the most desirable type.

The two Methodist churches sponsored mid-week group meetings for their younger children. One group was discontinued. The other met at night beginning at 7:30 and lasting until 10 o'clock.

In this community there were many fraternal organizations; such as, the Rotary, American Legion, Manchester Lion's Club, Optimists, South Richmond Business Men's Club, Woodmen of the World, and Eastern Star. For the

Negroes there were Ideal, Samaritans, Household of Ruth, Odd Fellows, St. Luke's, and Eastern Star.

The proportion of the total population by age groups and sex served by informal educational and recreational agencies in the studied district follows.[1]

TABLE VI

PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS AND SEX SERVED BY INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL AGENCIES IN THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, 1938-1939[2]

	Male				Female			
	May 1935 - April 1936	May 1938 - April 1939	May 1935 - April 1936	May 1938 - April 1939	May 1935 - April 1936	May 1938 - April 1939	May 1935 - April 1936	May 1938 - April 1939
Age Groups	Number		Per Cent		Number		Per Cent	
0 - 5	0	2	.6		1	0	.31	.0
6 - 11	18	45	5.00	12.5	8	60	2.18	16.3
12 - 16	185	152	64.69	53.1	68	108	21.45	34.1
17 - 24	225	102	45.27	20.5	141	55	22.38	8.7
25 plus	51	70	2.70	3.7	55	56	2.52	2.6
Total	479	371	14.26	11.0	273	279	7.15	7.3

[1] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mrs. Driscoll, Director of Research Bureau, Richmond Community Council, who said "Study was made of all private group agencies of the Community Fund". February 11, 1940.

[2] Survey of Informal Educational and Recreational Activities, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1938 - April, 1939 (Compiled by the Research Bureau of the Richmond Community Council).

It is seen that rather than an increasing participation there was a decreasing among the males and females with only 752 out of approximately 8,000 whites, or 10.47 per cent, participating in a period from May, 1935 - April, 1936 as compared with a like period from May 1, 1938 - April 30, 1939 when there were only 650, or 9.1 per cent, participating in informal educational and recreational activities.

Seven and nine tenths per cent of the white population, or 29, participated in Salvation Army activities during the same year. Of this number 96.6 per cent were free participants; none paid all and only one paid anything.

For young women in the community Maury School sponsored a Y.W.C.A. group once a week led by a member of the school staff. Mothers of Maury School children and their young friends were eligible. Four per cent, or 201, attended the central Y.W.C.A. during the year May, 1938 - April, 1939.

TABLE VII

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES ATTENDING THE CENTRAL Y.W.C.A. FROM THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, 1938-1939[1]

Age Groups	Male	Female
0 - 5	0	0
6 - 11	0	21
12 - 16	0	93
17 - 25	6	46
26 plus	6	29
Total	12	189

[1] Survey of Informal Educational and Recreational Activities, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1938 - April, 1939 (Compiled by the Research Bureau of the Richmond Community Council).

Of those participating 45.8 per cent were free; 37.8 paid and 31.1 paid part.

TABLE VIII

STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING CENTRAL Y.W.C.A., MAY, 1938-APRIL, 1939[1]

Status of Participants	Number	Per Cent
Free	92	45.8
Pay	40	37.8
Part Pay	33	31.1

Twenty-five girls in the community belonged to the Girl Scouts.

TABLE IX

THE NUMBER OF GIRL SCOUTS BY AGE GROUPS IN THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, MAY, 1938- APRIL, 1939[2]

Age Groups	Number
0 - 5	0
6 - 11	16
12 - 16	7
17 - 25	1
26 plus	1
Total	25

[1] Survey of Informal Educational and Recreational Activities, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1938 - April, 1939 (Compiled by the Research Bureau of the Richmond Community Council).

[2] Ibid.

Status of the participants follows for the same year.

TABLE X

STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS BELONGING TO THE GIRL SCOUTS IN THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, MAY, 1938 - APRIL, 1939[1]

Status of Participants	Number	Per Cent
Free	1	4.0
Pay	5	20.0
Part Pay	19	76.0

Of this number 16 were included in the Brownie Pack which was sponsored and led by the school. Those belonging to the Pack were between the ages of seven and ten. There were no groups sponsored by the school for young boys, but five belonged to the Boy Scouts.

The participation of the boys in this district in Boy Scout Troops was 4 per cent of the population.[2] Maury School district used Boy Scouting next to the least of any school district in the city of Richmond.[3]

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[1] Survey of Informal Educational and Recreational Activities, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1938 - April, 1939 (Compiled by the Research Bureau of the Richmond Community Council).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Oak Grove School was at the bottom of the list.

TABLE XI

THE NUMBER OF BOY SCOUTS BY AGE GROUPS IN THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, MAY, 1938 - APRIL, 1939[1]

Age Groups	Number
0 - 5	0
6 - 11	5
12 - 16	62
17 - 25	12
26 plus	18
Total	97

Of the number participants 97 are free participants or 100 per cent free membership.[2] Eleven in the community used the Council Neighborhood House or 1.2 per cent of the population.[3] All eleven were sixteen years of age or over.

Some boys belong to the Central Y.M.C.A. and often may be seen walking into town to attend a class or go for a

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[1] Survey of Informal Educational and Recreational Activities, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1938 - April, 1939 (Compiled by the Research Bureau of the Richmond Community Council).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

swim. In all, four per cent or 295 attended the Y.M.C.A.

TABLE XII

NUMBER OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES ATTENDING THE CENTRAL Y.M.C.A. FROM THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, MAY, 1938 - APRIL, 1939[1]

Age Groups	Number Participating Male	Female
0 - 5	0	0
6 - 11	37	24
12 - 16	95	15
17 - 25	78	6
26 plus	32	8
Total	242	53

The status of the participants follows.

TABLE XIII

STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING CENTRAL Y.M.C.A. FROM MAURY SCHOOL AREA, MAY, 1938 - APRIL, 1939[2]

Status of Participants	Number	Per Cent
Free	178	60.3
Pay	95	32.2
Part Pay	22	7.5

[1] Survey of Informal Educational and Recreational Activities, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1938 - April, 1939 (Compiled by the Research Bureau of the Richmond Community Council).

[2] Ibid.

There is a Negro Boy Scout troop and a Negro Girl Scout troop sponsored by the First Baptist Negro Church. A most serious limitation of the Scout program is its unadaptability to the underprivileged child. Its program does not appeal to or receive the child who is a problem. Thus, the Scout program does not touch the great mass from this section.

Adults were neglected. They thought their only opportunity for recreation was the movies. It mattered not if there was no food, if their shoes had holes as big as half dollars allowing bare feet to touch the ground, always they got money to go to the shows.

In one family of eleven people living in a two-room bungalow the mother said, "Yes, I'm going to the show this evening. My boy said he know'd I'd like the picture." Yet her infant son reclined in an orange-crate bed, and two of her youngest girls were toddling about the cold floors bare-footed and without clothing under their well-worn dresses, and the child that is in the writer's room had the bottom of her foot exposed because of the lack of shoe soles. There were few opportunities provided for the expression of the play spirit; too soon the populace was thrown face to face with the stark realities of life.

Delinquency

Figures for delinquency in the Maury School area were available for the year 1935. Five hundred and sixty-two white persons or 7.83 per cent and 440 colored or 13.9 per cent of the population were arrested. Offenders, according to age groups, follow for white and negro population.

TABLE XIV

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE AND NEGRO OFFENDERS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS FROM THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, 1935[1]

Age Groups	Number		Per Cent	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
1 - 11	5	6	.73	1.72
12 - 17	41	43	11.58	26.67
18 - 25	156	167	29.63	78.09
26 plus	360	224	19.43	28.63
Total	562	440	7.83	13.9

The number of colored and white committed for crimes

[1] Compilation of Cases Handled by the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Department of Public Safety, Richmond, Virginia (Compiled by Research Bureau of Richmond Community Council, 1939).

is given below according to age groups.

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF COLORED AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES COMMITTED FOR CRIMES BY AGE GROUPS FROM THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA, 1935[1]

Age Groups	Male		Female		Grand Total	
	Number serving	Per Cent	Number serving	Per Cent	Number serving	Per Cent
0 - 5	1	.2	0	.0		
6 - 11	33	6.1	1	.2		
12 - 16	88	21.1	7	.9		
17 - 18	12	7.6	0	.0		
Age Unknown	6		0			
Total	140	8.7	8	.5	148	4.4

One hundred and two or 60 per cent of the 171 offenses were committed by white boys and 62 or 36 per cent by colored boys. Thirteen of the offenses were cases of disorderly conduct; 20 were cases of loitering; 10 were cases of shooting air rifles; 26 were cases of defacing property; 19 were petty larceny; 7 were gambling; and 14

[1] Compilation of Cases Handled by the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Department of Public Safety, Richmond, Virginia (Compiled by Research Bureau of Richmond Community Council, 1939).

were violations of city ordinances; and 7 cases were for breaking and entering. Nineteen and nine tenths per cent of all the white and 23.5 per cent of all the colored boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen were the offenders.[1] No less than 11.58 per cent of the boys between the ages of twelve and seventeen were dealt with by the police as alleged delinquents during the year 1935. Contact between the young child at Maury School and the older delinquent brothers and sisters was almost inevitable, because of the close contact within the home and the neighborhood.[2]

"The cases of colored boys brought before the Judge are almost entirely between the ages of twelve and sixteen and are more and more convicted for crimes connected with automobiles; such as, drinking and driving, boys getting girls into trouble in cars, and stealing autos or parts of automobiles. The cases in the number of colored and white juvenile delinquents are growing, and the workers are on duty a longer number of hours each day."[3] To the writer this

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[1] Compilation of Cases Handled by the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Department of Public Safety, Richmond, Virginia (Compiled by Research Bureau of Richmond Community Council, 1939).

[2] Appendix 3.

[3] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mr. Henna, the officer for colored children, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Richmond, Virginia, March 25, 1941.

did not necessarily mean a larger number of delinquents. The cases may have been more difficult, more interest may have been shown in recent years in individual cases or changes made in personnel may have required more time to do the job well.

The only available figures on adult convictions on felony or misdemeanor charges (minor traffic cases excluded) are those for 1933, when 161 adults or 15.6 per 1,000 population were convicted from this community.[1] During 1934 there were 70 juvenile convictions or 6.8 per 1,000 population from this same area.[2] Adult and juvenile delinquency was worse than the city wide average in 1/3 of the community in 1935. This area was bounded by 13th Street, Maury Street north to 9th Street Road and north on Dinwiddie to the river.[3]

Among these people fights were always ensuing. Workers with colored and whites in this section said the street brawls were characteristic and found among the white

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[1] A Report of the City Planning Commission Relative to Housing and Other Planning Matters (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design with cooperation of Federal Relief Agencies, January, 1938).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

people as often as the colored.[1]

There were no known houses of prostitution. From the Juvenile and Domestic Courts we find that the number of illegitimate children in this community surpasses all others in the city. On many streets were rooming houses with "star boarders".[2] There the indifference to social standards had a material bearing upon the behavior problems of youngsters. Children from many of these homes had records in the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court.[3]

People married young, had families, and went off leaving the responsibility to grandmothers and grandfathers, neighbors, and the community. The investigator went into three classrooms and found many broken homes. Large families were left without means of support. Drunkards were found frequently. Social workers and teachers going into the homes inquiring where the whisky came from found that it was not bought from the A.B.C. Stores. They drank hair tonics, cleaning fluids, turpentine, and denatured alcohol.

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[1] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mrs. Moody and Mrs. Hewitt, Social Service workers from Social Service Bureau, Richmond, Virginia, May 13, 1940.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mr. A. Clair Sager, Juvenile Officer, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Richmond, Virginia, April 1, 1941.

In the standing in percentage of cases of crimes committed Maury School district was the fourth; three other districts had a higher percentage.

TABLE XVI

THE RATING OF THE MAURY SCHOOL DISTRICT IN THE NUMBER OF CRIMES COMMITTED BY WHITES AND NEGROES[1]

White Cases	Negro Cases	Total Cases
5th in number	2nd in number	4th in number

Delinquency had become a permanent aspect of the social life among the boys in this area. Stealing from each other, "sneak-thiefing" and simply taking advantage of smaller boys by pushing them down, putting them in trash cans, sitting them on water fountains were common offenses and expected. Nothing was done to reach the root of the condition. These people were accustomed to having the police come and take away members of the family in the "black wagon"; they had been suppressed by force and were used to being told what to do.

In the light of the disorganized community situation, a high rate of delinquency was to be expected. Continuous

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[1] Comparison was made with all School Districts in the city.

changes in the composition of the population, varied backgrounds, differing degrees of responsibility for the family, and continuance of community tradition among others made for a delinquent problem. The effect that the school and the community had upon the child was thus lessened. So the child lied and stole because he had seen it as the thing that was being done.[1] If the child conformed to his family, he was delinquent in the eyes of the city and law. If the child conformed to law, he was delinquent in the eyes of his family. Thus the child lived in conflict which made for further and future delinquency.

Health

In the eyes of the school doctors and city authorities the community health problems were being well cared for at the available medical and dental clinics.

The Welfare Clinic gave prenatal instruction to mothers and cared for the babies until they were one year old. At the birth of the child the Instructive and Visiting Nurses' Association (I.V.N.A.) came in and cared for the mother and child. The mother was attended by the nurse and an interne. If hospitalization was necessary, the mother was taken immediately to the hospital. Seventy-five per cent of

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[1] Appendix 4.

the births were attended by physicians or midwives who were licensed. However, one half of the district being studied, census tract S[1], had a higher infant mortality rate than the city wide average.[1]

Although the I.V.N.A. rendered assistance for ten days after delivery, the high infant death rate may have been caused by the large number of mothers working before or soon after the birth of their babies.[2] The low incomes of the fathers lessened the opportunity of the families to live in sanitary homes, employ nursing care and doctors; the generally lower standard of education among this group, which did not produce the type of mother who understood feeding formulae and modern child care; and unfavorable conditions in the homes all contributed to the causes of the deaths of many infants during the first year. During infancy the babies were given check-ups at the City Well-Baby Clinic on East 12th Street between Decatur and Hull. This clinic opened every Tuesday and Friday. Baby specialists were in attendance at these times. Children were examined, treated, and prescribed for from infancy until they were twelve years old.

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[1] A Report of the City Planning Commission Relative to Housing and Other Planning Matters (Richmond: Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, January, 1938). Census Tract S1 1935.

[2] Appendix 5.

If the child went to the Southside Day Nursery on 15th and McDonough Streets, he was checked periodically and carefully watched by those in daily attendance as well as by the City Nursery School Nurse. At 5½ years of age the child entered Maury School, where the school nurse and doctor made a pre-school check upon the child's health. From the time the child began school until maturity, he had the daily care of the school nurse and semi-yearly check-up by a school doctor and nurse. How well did this service function? A child was sent home; a note went with him explaining the treatment needed. The mother let the matter slide or ignored it and often the condition grew worse.

Parents and children had the opportunity of going to the children's clinic at the Medical College at 12th and Marshall Streets at all times provided they were interested enough to get themselves there. The parents and all of the out-of-school populace were fortunate in that it could attend the free chest clinic at the Medical College.

The community as a whole liked attention. When told that they needed to go to the clinic, they got there. Most of the community was well aware of the functioning clinics, and many listened to the teachers and nurse when appointments were made for parents or their children. There were a few families that did not know the ropes and so had their first experience such as old Mrs. Mahoney, who recently moved into

the community with a house full of low grade degenerate children. The school knew that Pete needed glasses and could not pin Mrs. Mahoney down to keeping her appointment at the clinic. Finally she was approached by the school nurse who threatened her, "I will be there on the front steps of the clinic at 9 o'clock on Tuesday, and you had better be there with Pete." Came the appointed day, and the nurse waiting on the clinic steps saw old Mrs. Mahoney coming along 12th Street with Pete and eleven other children and all the neighbors to get glasses on her child. Old Mrs. Mahoney was not going to let them hurt her Pete. She had brought along her forces. From that day on, old Mrs. Mahoney has used all the facilities of the social service departments in the city.[1]

Dental clinics were open to children and parents. Most of the community received the services entirely free. Working parents paid a fee of $.50; and when the work was very expensive or a special kind of filling desired, a small extra charge was made.

Dentists working in the school once a year said that the children's teeth were no better and no worse in this section than any other in the city. In the schools only those needing immediate help were seen by the dentists, however. Many children did not get the opportunity at Maury.

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[1] She has since fallen and broken her hip and died at the Poor House.

In the wealthier sections all children who needed attention received it. At these schools corrective treatments which added to the beauty of the child's mouth and teeth were often given rather than only the necessities.

In this community there were more children with tuberculosis than in any other section of the city.[1] Tuberculosis cases were higher than the city wide average in one half of the community.[2] Typhoid had been checked, but there were some cases due to the bad sanitation and lack of screening in this vicinity. Diptheria had been wiped out due to free attention and free immunization given at the baby clinic and in the school. Cycles of measles and whooping cough swept through the community. When one child had the disease, it spread rapidly through the family and did not show up again for a number of years, when there was a new set of children to promote the spread.

Impetigo and the itch were diseases of poverty and found in great numbers. When children were sent home from school because of either disease, a note with directions to be followed went along with the youngster. The child was told that his mother must follow the directions and that he

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[1] Personal interview by the writer, interviewed Mrs. McNeil, Maury School Nurse, who has worked all over the city. She knows from experience and city wide reports. April 27, 1940.

[2] Appendix 6.

could return to school as soon as he was well. The teacher might go into the home a week later and find the child often in a worse condition than he was when he left school. Butch, when asked if he put the medicine on his sores replied, "Yes'm sometimes I have, but you ought to see my sister! She's got some better looking ones than I have. Are hers big?" When Butch's mother came to the door she explained proudly, "Oh, you know everybody here has had those sores. You just ought to see them."

Hospital and medical care were available if the people went for it, but the educational follow-up was lost. The treatment and care did not show such immediate results because the people did not understand how or failed to follow directions. On a return visit the patient often did not show the desired results. Typically, the sick returned home to untidy surroundings, burdensome tasks, and rough talk only to have a relapse.

New comers to the community did not know where the clinics were when mentioned by the teachers or nurse. These people often did not feel the responsibility to see that a clinic was available, nor did they take the child readily, so that it might receive the expert advice and care given. Teachers sent notes home with children that needed medical help asking the parents to take the child. Always the day and the hour that the clinic opened was repeated in these

notes. Some parents, however, made return visits to the clinic without reminders. "The doctor told me to bring Babs and Ray back in four weeks. That is next Tuesday."

Many adults bought from the street venders patent medicines or sent to distant states for sworn remedies to cure similar symptoms. Mrs. Drake kept her child out of school because he looked so pale. A day later she explained that she gave him worm medicine. Mrs. Nash explained to the writer, "I won't be any better until I get the money to send to Nebraska for my medicine. I felt the same way two or three years ago, and I saw that medicine advertised, and I sent for some right quick, and it made me well." Education and intelligent use of the many opportunities for bettering the health of the families in the community must take into consideration also the houses in which these people live.

Housing

No housing statistics were available from the 1930 census. Housing studies were made of the Maury School district in 1935, but the survey data was not summarized and tabulated or made available.[1]

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[1] Housing Studies, City of Richmond, Virginia, Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, 1935.

In 1936 there were in the community 2,534 parcels of land.[1]

559 were vacant
1585 were for residential use
219 were commercial
94 were industrial
29 were public service
39 were tax free (schools, churches, etc.)
9 were unreported

Of the 1,650 reported for residential use:

1519 were heated by stoves
5 were heated by open fireplaces
3 were heated by other means
3 were unreported
0 residences reported furnaces

Of the 1,650 reported:

1377 used electricity for lighting
271 used oil for lighting
0 used gas for lighting
2 were unreported

Of the 1,650 reported:

409 were in good condition
710 were in fair condition
430 were reported in poor condition
101 were in very poor condition
0 were unreported

Of the 1,650 reported:

720 had no baths
924 had one or more baths
6 were unreported

Many Maury School children lived in sub-standard homes; for instance, when asked in two classes it was found

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[1] Census Tract S^1 and S^3: Real Property Survey, Richmond, Virginia, January, 1936. Table 17, p. 57.

TABLE ~~XVII~~

USE OF PARCELS OF LAND IN THE MAURY SCHOOL AREA SHOWING HEATING, LIGHTING, CONDITION, AND BATHS IN RESIDENTIAL USE, 1936[1]

CENSUS TRACT	PARCELS of LAND									RESIDENTIAL USE																						
	Use									Heating				Lighting					Condition						Baths							
	Vacant	Residential	Commercial	Industrial	Public Service	Tax Free (schools, churches)	Other and not reported	Total		Stoves	Open Fireplaces	Other and unreported	Total	Electricity	Gas	Oil	Other and unreported	Total	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	Unreported	Total	No baths	One or more	Unreported	Total					
S-	228	724	87	75	28	15	8	1165		703	5	2	710	652	0	110	2	764	195	347	187	38	0	767	306	458	0	764				
	19.57	62.15	7.47	6.44	2.40	1.28	.69	100%		92.02	.65	.26	100%	85.34	-	14.40	.26	100%	25.52	45.43	24.48	4.98	-	100%	40.05	59.95	-	100%				
S3	331	861	132	19	1	27	1	1369		816	0	1	817	725	0	161	0	886	214	349	246	63	0	886	14	466	6	886				
	24.18	62.90	9.64	1.39	.07	1.75	.07	100%		99.90	0	.10	100%	81.83	-	18.17	-	100%	24.15	40.97	27.79	7.11	-	100%	1.73	52.60	.67	100%				

[1] Real Property Survey (Richmond, Va.: January, 1936.)

there was no furnace in any home.[1] This bears out the statement reported in the survey made by the Department of Public Works in 1936. Sanitary conditions, conveniences, state of repair, almost everything seemed to be lacking in the houses: there were leaking roofs, plastering was down; paper, painting, kalsomining was needed; porches, fences, gutters were broken.

Many families shared their homes with others. Many kept lodgers, relatives, and married children. The average number of rooms per family dwelling was found to be under 4; the average number of persons living in each house was 6; the average number of persons per sleeping room was 3.[2]

TABLE XVIII

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN WHICH THE FAMILY OF EACH CHILD LIVED, 1940[3]

Number of Families	one room	two rooms	three rooms	four rooms	five rooms	six rooms	seven rooms or more
	1	6	6	5	7	4	0

[1] When asked by the investigator what a radiator was, most of the children knew that it was on an automobile. No child mentioned having seen one in a house. The school was heated by steam and hot air was forced into the room through registers in the walls.

[2] Question asked each child in a Second Grade.

[3] Question asked each of the 29 children in the writer's class and checked with writer's observation.

It must not be assumed that the large families live in the large houses. The reverse would almost seem to be the rule. For instance, the following are typical:

1 room family (mother, child, and lodger)

2 room families (mother, father, and 9 children; mother, father, grandmother, and 4 children)

3 room families (man, wife, and 1 child; man, wife, and 9 children)

4 room families (man, wife, 5 children, and grandfather; man, wife, 5 children, and grandmother)

On January 13, 1939, it was declared that 40% of the homes of this section would have to be replaced or repaired if health and safety laws were enforced by the city.[1] Though by May, 1939, many organizations had indorsed a clearing of the slums,[2] the Richmond Real Estate Exchange was marshalling its forces to oppose the creation of a housing authority.[3] The class nature of the economic system was never better demonstrated than it was at the City Council Zoning Committee meeting at the City Hall when a delegation, hand-picked from the Southside, appeared in opposition to a project for better housing. Because the project was in close proximity

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[1] Editorial in the Richmond Times Dispatch, January 15, 1939.

[2] Community Recreation Association, Rural-Urban League, Round Table Discussion Group, Young Democratic Clubs, South Richmond Business and Professional Men's Association.

[3] Appendix 7.

to property owned and occupied by those who had been raised to their state of affluence by the same class for whom this project was contemplated, these men helped veto a needed housing proposal.[1]

"Their objections were not based upon the fact, that the architecture was not in harmony with that in the neighborhood, but solely upon the fact, that they would be occupied by workers and their families whose income was not comparable to that of those living in the community. It was brought out in the hearing that as the law now stands, there is nothing to prevent anyone from securing a lot on the same site and erecting thereon three or four-room shacks that in a few years would be classed as slums and unfit for human habitation, while the project proposed would be a modern, permanent place for years to come to which our workers could wind their way after their day's toil to relax and enjoy their families in a better atmosphere than is usually available to workers of this income class."[2]

Because of taxes, owners have allowed their property to depreciate, knowing well that as quickly as improvements were made upon property, taxes would be slapped down upon

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[1] Appendix 8.

[2] Mr. Monahan, commenting on outcome of meeting which killed the Housing Plan, The Richmond News Leader, November 30, 1937. p. 1.

them. The taxing plan in Richmond had put a premium upon inertia. Unhealthy, demoralizing, crime-breeding old dwellings were scattered throughout the community to retard community progress as the houses decreased in value.

A considerable number rented for less than four dollars per month, and these would be adjudged unfit for human habitation by any health officer, welfare worker or jurist in the state. They were tumbled-down, dirty, leaky, over-crowded, poorly equipped, rat-ridden habitations. Even in one of the cleanest best kept homes in the community a child from the home talked about being awakened by the rats that ran between the flooring above his bed.

In another home the investigator was told that the daddy had to put another cloth on the table each morning because the rats dirtied the table every night. Again she heard that the rats "stay on our back porch". Another family had the same big rat coming back night after night to get flour out of a big hole in the sack.

"It is almost inconceivable that human beings should live in such quarters, much less pay rents for such miserable squalor."[1] It was impossible to overlook the dilapidated porches, the falling plaster, the leaking roofs, the stifling

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[1] Radio address: Mrs. Alice Burke, Acting Virginia State Secretary of the Communist Party. W.R.T.D., Richmond, Virginia, July 12, 1939, 7:30 - 7:45 P.M.

odors for which the average monthly residential rate of rent in the Maury School district was from $15.00 to $24.99.[1] The average monthly rental rate of the area was $15.42.[2]

From these homes, characterized by congestion and deterioration, came the Maury School children. This background affected the children and served as a means of understanding those coming to the school.

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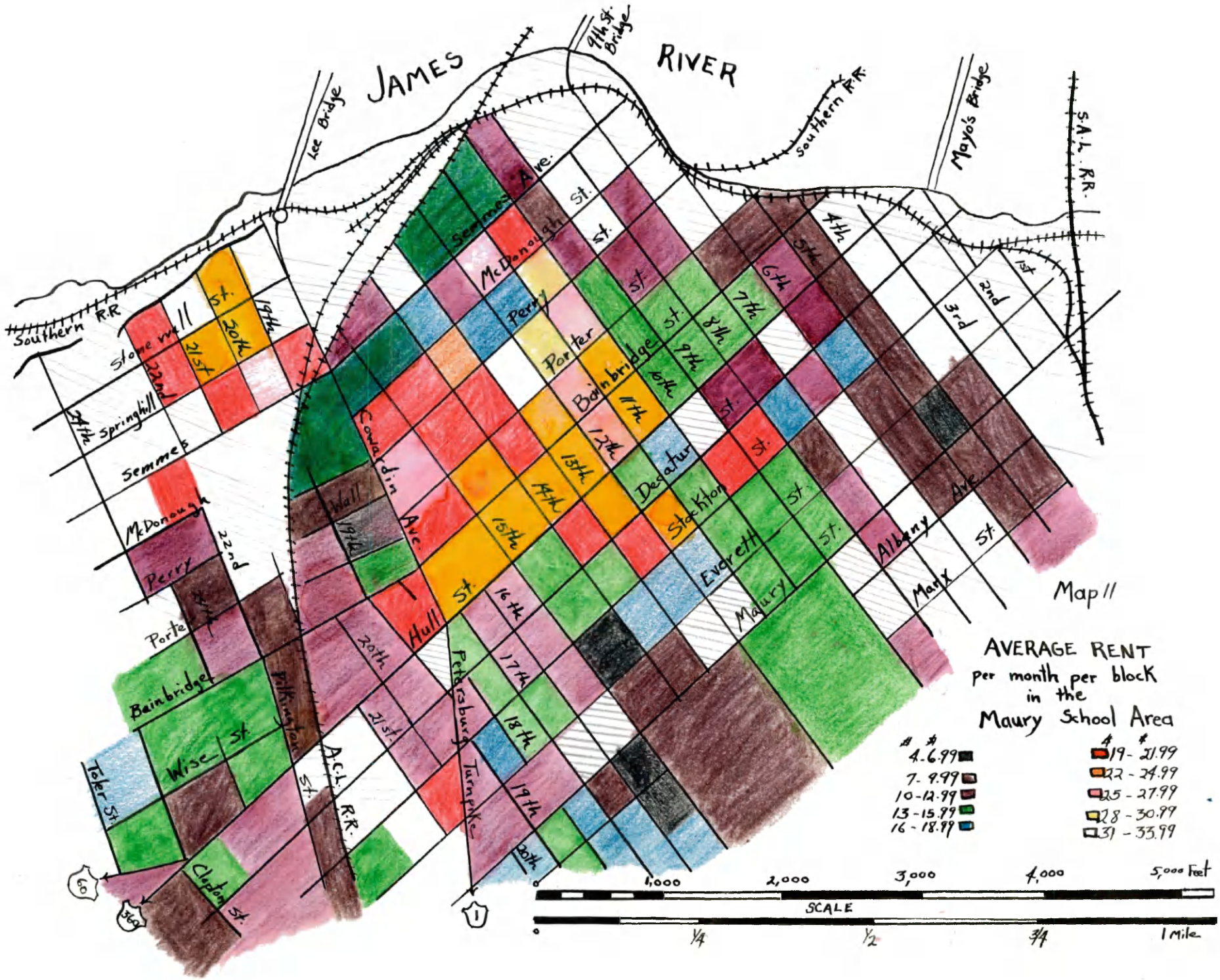
[1] Rental Map of City of Richmond: Information from Federal Housing Administration from real property inventory of United States Department of Commerce, 1934.

[2] Information made available by Mr. Brauer, Department of Public Works, January 7, 1941. Map 11, p. 62a.


JAMES RIVER
9th St. Bridge
Lee Bridge
Mayo's Bridge
Southern R.R.
S.A.L. R.R.
Southern R.R
Seminole Ave.
McDonough St.
Perry St.
Porter St.
Bainbridge St.
Decatur St.
Stockton St.
Everett St.
Maury St.
Albany Ave.
Marx St.
Hull St.
Petersburg Turnpike
A.C.L. R.R.
Wise St.
Toler St.
Clopton St.
Pilkington St.
Stonewall
Springhill
Semmes
Wall
Covington Ave.
19th
20th
21st
22nd
1st
2nd
3rd
4th
5th
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
12th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
20th
21st
22nd
60
360
1
Map II
AVERAGE RENT
per month per block
in the
Maury School Area
4-6.99
7-9.99
10-12.99
13-15.99
16-18.99
19-21.99
22-24.99
25-27.99
28-30.99
31-33.99
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000 Feet
SCALE
1/4
1/2
3/4
1 Mile

CHAPTER III

CONDITIONS OF SELECTED CHILDREN IN ONE CLASSROOM AS REVEALED BY LIFE IN THE CLASS AND IN VISITS TO THE HOMES AND VARIOUS AGENCIES

The twelve selected children were studied from September 1938 to June 1940. The records kept by the teacher revealed the conditions of the children.

Obvious Conditions in Physical Make-up

Poor physical development was evident. In doctors' rapid routine examinations, tubercular symptoms were found in five of the twelve children studied. Tuberculosis contacts were found in the homes of three of these five.

Four instances of rickets and five cases of faulty tooth structures were noticed. Bad teeth, not corrected, were seen in eleven out of twelve of the children. The surface of one child's teeth was worn down as if from grinding. Nervous motions made at random and lack of energy were noticeable among the four.

It was characteristic of two of the twelve to wave their arms about aimlessly and stride around always looking off balance; both children fell easily. One was very awkward. Three children, Jeff, Bill, and Milly twitched and wiggled continually. Their faces were often drawn and to

some extent misshapen by nervous gestures over which they seemed to have no control. Two of them had thin, haggard expressions.

Seven out of the twelve individuals presented evidences of a lack of energy. Four of them showed a disinclination to move about and tendencies to remain still rather than active as young children usually are. Jeff dropped into a chair each morning when he arrived and remained there noticing very little going on in the room.

Colds, eye-strain, and dark shadows under the eyes were prevalent. Colds started with nine of the children after the first change in temperature and continued throughout the fall, winter, and early spring. These colds were accompanied by weak and watery eyes. For three children, the clinic ordered glasses. Three others came daily with deep dark circles beneath their eyes. Nine were underweight and undersized. Six were underweight from 5 to 20 pounds. They gave the impression of being more underweight than examinations or records showed them to be. There were in the group two children three years older than the average age of the group, but they did not stand out as older because they were underweight and small in stature. Another appeared to be a chubby healthy three-year-old rather than a child of six. He rolled on the floor and put everything into his mouth.

Pale skin was prevalent among eleven of them. Unhealthy looking body structures were seen in seven: three had protruding stomachs, seven had bony knees, and thin arms and legs. Spinal columns were conspicuous between hunched shoulders. In many of them, shoulder blades were prominent; elbows were thin and pointed. Eight children had definitely poor posture; six of these had shoulders that drooped, stooped, or sagged.

As a group they appeared physically unattractive. One child's eye was off-focus. Another had a drooping eyelid and receding chin with protruding teeth. Still another had a thyroid condition which resulted in a big, listless body. This undoubtedly accounted, in part, for her unattractiveness to her comrades.

Some of them had attractive physical assets which were brought out with proper care. After the school maid had bathed Nell, her face and hair shone. She had a beautiful clear complexion. When Bab's long stringy hair had been combed and plaited, and little bows of bright ribbon were tied on each plait, she became a very attractive person.

In seven children there were evidences of undernourishment. A dislike of nourishing foods was found in eleven of the twelve studied. Milly brought bags of dry ground coffee and candy for her mid-day lunch. Bill went

home for a hot meal; consequently,his eating habits and selection of food could not be watched. Joe, who was given a lunch in the school cafeteria, chose soup and bread always rather than the liver, chicken on toast, meat loaf, meat pie, vegetables, or milk which were equally cheap and attractively displayed. Day after day Jeff brought a lunch of dry, hard, white flat biscuits wrapped in newspaper. One boy, Otto, did not know how to handle his lunch bag. Often he upset his lunch before getting to his table. It was not unusual to see children help him pick up an apple, retrieve a mashed banana or put together a sandwich which he had taken out to eat and dropped. May and Nell seldom brought any lunch, although the mothers could have afforded it. It was learned that one of the mothers thought that the school would give her child a lunch if she just held out long enough. The other mother was tied down with seven other children in school and could not get around to preparing lunches for all of them every day. Eddie cried over his food and often vomited it into his plate. At home he ate very little and never regularly. He was accustomed to plain food which he ate hurriedly rather than sitting down to a family table to eat. Dishes attractively arranged by the school cafeteria manager did not tempt him. Larry began from the first to buy his entire lunch in the cafeteria; however, he had several unfortunate experiences

of dropping and breaking dishes which embarrassed and humiliated him. He spilled his food easily. He dawdled over his meals and said he did not like milk. Agnes would not buy milk, soups, or desserts; she wanted candy and nothing else. Babs brought a nickel each day for milk to supplement her lunch. Few of the children chose whole wheat bread, milk, salads, and new, attractive-looking foods without guidance.

This group of children studied did not represent a picked group. The other children of the room showed many of these or other handicaps. For example, Beth had no hands, only stubs below the elbows. Patty had been poisoned by diseased tonsils which had impaired her hearing. During the daily twenty minute rest period, she usually fell asleep and sometimes slept on through the remaining school day. Another child, Celeste, had her front teeth knocked out when a baby and her gums seriously injured. At the end of the two years in school, there was still no sign of teeth appearing. The school dentist questioned whether or not she would ever cut her front teeth. Nelda had a speech difficulty due to the malformation of her mouth. Eleven children in the class of twenty-nine had had pneumonia one or more times.

There were children in the group with pretty skins. One boy had dark hair that curled into tight ringlets when his hair became damp. A little girl was encouraged to let

her soup-bowl hair-cut grow, and much later she had two blond pigtails that made her stand out in the group.

A study of the remaining classrooms of Maury School emphasized the prevalence of physical handicaps among the children.

The Ability to Think and Plan Found in These Children

Mental immaturity was evident in these children. Seven of the twelve were conspicuously immature. The four at the very bottom of the list were referred to the Children's Memorial Clinic, and this staff cooperated in planning a program for them. They were classified as feeble-minded. Two of the children seemed unable in spite of much guidance to feel responsibility for consequences of their acts and were disposed to extreme destructiveness. Milly at the end of the day would put on another's coat as readily as she would her own. One day during recess time when all were on the yard for a half an hour of outdoor play, she entered the school and walked into a classroom and announced to a group of children that they were all wanted out on the yard. On another occasion she entered her own room and took the paint brushes and dipped them all into each color; and as she filled each brush with paint she shook it over the school room and herself. Such acts were typical of her irrelevant irresponsible conduct. Her father was serving a term in the

penitentiary and her mother had thrust Milly upon anyone in the neighborhood who would take her for $2.00 a month. Bill, the second child, took goldfish out of the bowl and handled them. He let the caterpillars out of their jars and squeezed the insects between his fingers killing them. One day he walked up behind a child with open scissors and was ready to cut down on the child's ear when apprehended by the teacher. Without warning or reason, both children often screamed out. Many times during the day, each uttered gutteral noises and peculiar vocal sounds when the other children were busy at their jobs or very quietly listening to stories told by the teacher or members of the class. Even in physical movements these two seemed to lack control and responsibility. The boy took such long steps that it was difficult for him to keep his balance, while the girl used clumsy, aimless movements in all she attempted to do. Both fell easily; however, at the clinic no abnormality in the nervous system was found to cause the awkwardness in the girl's walking. She was finally committed to the State's Feeble-Minded Colony.

The other two children which the clinic called feeble-minded would habitually sit quietly in ungraceful, uncouth postures. Their faces lacked expression. Joe never smiled. On Jeff's face there was a meaningless play of the features; such as, smiling with seemingly nothing to smile at. This

was especially noticeable because he had a very large mouth, with the jaws badly shaped and the teeth discolored, broken, and decayed. By their actions it was very obvious that the remaining three of the seven immature children (Otto, Ricky, and May) were limited by the type of response they were capable of giving to situations. When spoken to, they did not comprehend and could never follow directions given directly and plainly. Otto and Ricky were given the Binet Individual Tests. Their I.Q.s were 79 and 71 respectively. Although not young for the group, these children reacted like very young children; they regularly moved off from the group and wandered about the room during story hour. Otto did not recognize his own name; put everything into his mouth; bit down on moulded bread, paper, crayons, stones, glass, money, chalk, and rags; picked the goldfish out of the water and pushed the planted seeds around in the dirt. All seven showed a dullness and lack of effort or curiosity to investigate; all showed a tendency to play with younger children, and all lacked initiative.

The remaining five in the group studied were of more nearly normal development. Two of them stood out as relatively very bright. Babs had a lovable combination of qualities that made her attractive to everybody. She showed a modesty, a beauty, a simplicity, and an independence of thought that encouraged all to go forward

with their work and beckoned others to come to her for help. She had just enough of a shy little quiet way to make her a most attractive and wholesome individual.

Agnes was quick in her responses to situations, but had been told over and over again that she was smart. At home all gave way to her. Upon her entrance into school life she was so spoiled, so extremely individualistic and self-centered that her first weeks of school were a miserable experience for the group and for her.

The remaining three children, Larry, Eddie, and Nell, had seemingly average ability but had had little chance to use it and little encouragement to develop it. In the home, Larry and Eddie had been waited on constantly; they did not know how to remove their hats and coats, to get out of their goloshes unaided was impossible. They would walk up to the teacher saying, "Huh, get these off," or "Take my gloves off". When the teacher disregarded these orders, one remarked, "But, I'm Larry". This child appeared to be a very much more intelligent person than he was actually. As he continued in the school, it was found that he was a very slow child. In the group, however, he stood out because he had more experiences than the others; he had been talked to, read to, taken to many places, and encouraged to talk about many things which the grown-ups in the home constantly bestowed upon him. Eddie was a quiet child, dominated by

adults, and had few chances to make adjustments to life. Although he was a capable child, he was not able to take a hold and influence the life of the group because he did not know what it meant to be allowed to think for himself. Each morning he was awakened, dressed, fed, bundled up, and taken to his grandmother's home where he stayed until the time to go to school. Nell had little at home to challenge her. There were 9 children, few chairs, no electric lights, only a family bed, a scarcity of food, and but few garments. Nell was confined in this meagre setting because there was a new baby sister or brother each year for her to tend. From visits into the homes it was evident that whatever ability there was in these children to think and plan had had little opportunity to be used.

Conditions of the Homes From Which the Children Came

As the teacher visited in the homes of the twelve children, dug into family records at school, investigated through social agencies and churches, certain conditions of the children were revealed.

Family Support

Not only were homes often bare but frequently fear and despair were there because they did not have the natural support of a successful father. In one home the father was

dead. He had been accidently killed before the birth of the child. In two homes there were step-fathers. In one of these the step-father was serving time in the penitentiary for manslaughter. In this family the mother worked out as a part-time housekeeper. Only in eight families did the father work; three of the eight were employed as W.P.A. laborers. Two mothers worked on W.P.A. projects. One family with four young children had both parents working long hours daily. In one family the father was physically strong and evidently had ability to work, but did not do so. He had been cared for and petted at home from babyhood. After his marriage he brought his wife and children home and assumed no responsibilities with regard to adjusting himself to jobs in order to give his family food and clothing. In one case the man in the house was seldom at home because he worked out of the state. This father lost jobs and changed his work frequently; therefore, the family could not move about with him. In two cases children were separated from their parents. One child was boarded out; the other was usually at his grandparents' home. This boy's own parents felt no responsibility toward him. In one home the mother was divorced, while in two others the mothers had been previously married. In another home there was an illegitimate child, who was called an adopted child and said to be treated "just like my other children".

Drinking in the Homes

In three homes out of the twelve studied, the fathers drank excessively. In two of these cases both parents drank; in one case they were habitual drunkards. The latter couple have been seen lying out drunk in the yard or on the porch of their home. Once the police department was called by neighbors to take the parents off the sidewalk in front of their house. The mother has been picked up by the patrol on week-ends for disorderly conduct in a confectionery on Hull Street. The other couple drank regularly but more quietly. They came frequently to the school for their child and usually showed effects of excessive drinking. Their eyes were often watery, bleary, and glaring. On such occasions the mother talked behind her handkerchief to the teacher. The father always said, "You'll have to excuse me if I get too close. I smell terrible. I have to take cough medicine, and it smells terrible".

Fights

The adults in these twelve families were very crude in their family relationships. The mother of one child lived with the father's mother. One afternoon following a big fuss in the home, the mother-in-law came to the school and very glibbly told the teacher what had occurred. She

said she had thrown the daughter-in-law out because "She hasn't got no sense, and I can't stand that carrying on". She was referring to the fact that a sister of the child's mother had been meeting the father's brother upstairs in the bedroom. Some days later the mother came to the school with bruises still evident on her face.

One child's parents left the children at home one night, rented a U-Drive-It automobile, and went out driving. During the evening the car stopped, and both parents got out. A fight ensued during which the father pushed the mother into the fan belt of the opened engine, and the mother's neck was gashed from ear to ear.

Another child's grandmother was considered the "boss" of a block. One day she was overheard fighting and scolding a family. During the same night a member of the family became ill, and the "boss" dashed over and nursed the patient through his illness. She managed the household throughout the calamity.

One mother fought with her neighbor and cursed her. She accused this neighbor of neglecting her children and of allowing them to go indecently clad. She said the children learned obscene language from their mother. A feud developed involving many of the residents of the block, and one night they met in the street to battle it out. Two were taken to the hospital.

One very cooperative mother always spoke kindly of her husband. The teacher made many efforts to draw him into the school program; but each time she expected him to respond, he failed to appear. The teacher later learned that his getting into arguments and fighting was not unusual. One night he became involved in a fight at a filling station. His head was badly broken open and he was unable to work for months.

An uncle living in a home of one of the children got into an argument with the grandfather. During the heated discussion the uncle jumped up and smashed his father's jaws between both fists, breaking and crushing both jaw bones. The grandfather called the police, and the son was apprehended and taken to jail only to be bailed out by the grandfather whom he had injured. After a year he has not recovered.

Mothers of many homes were constantly fatigued and in ill health. One mother had conceived her child while under treatment at an asylum. She went home to have the baby and then returned to the institution where she died. In three of the twelve families the mother was worn out from child bearing. Only one mother of the twelve studied had been sterilized.[1]

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[1] In the summer of 1940 Mrs. O. Jones, another of these mothers, was sterilized.

Contact with Relief Agencies

All but two families had been helped by one or more of the Social Service Agencies of Richmond.[1] One of these two had not been in Richmond long enough to be written up by the Exchange but was known to be receiving aid from one agency at the time of the study. In the families of the children studied, eleven out of the twelve had records of aid received from one or more of the city's free clinics. Medical aid ranged from the free examining of eyes and the subsequent giving of glasses to the removing of tonsils and thorough physical examinations. In eleven of the homes studied the I.V.N.A. had administered help at some time since the birth of the child studied. Ten Community Fund Agencies had been used by Jeff's family; seven, by Joe's and Nell's; six, by May's and Otto's; and four, by Micky's.[2] Not only were the agencies being used at the time of the study, but also in many cases they had been used in the homes of the grandparents of the children studied.

Educational Status of Parents

Many of the parents were ignorant and unable to meet others socially. In one home the mother was unable to enter

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[1] Richmond Social Service Exchange Report, May, 1940.

[2] Appendix 9.

into conversation with the teacher. She often came to school, at which time she usually stood around, looked about, and chewed on some kind of food. Often this mother walked right into the room eating "three for a nickel" chocolate cakes. She would nod her head toward the teacher without speaking. The teacher tried on several occasions to invite the mother to talk and ask questions, but without success. The mother shook her head and nodded. She rarely spoke in the teacher's presence. She did not talk to her child within the teacher's hearing, even when opportunity opened for this.

In one home both parents were deaf mutes. These parents could not read lips, but talked on their fingers. Both could read and made an attempt at writing. Another father could not write his name.

Getting to school daily was a problem for these twelve children. In their homes there was little feeling of responsibility for their schooling; therefore, the children did not attend school a normal amount of time.

Age Upon School Entrance

Although the children were supposed to enter Maury School at five and a half years of age, they often did not. The twelve children were typical in that six were older than the average age for the class. For example: Ricky remained at home until he was seven years old, at which time he began

school with his younger brother. Joe, the nine-year-old, had been in Maury School since he was seven. Two others, over seven, had begun their school experience at other schools.

Attendance

Absences were prevalent. During the period of inducting them into school, the children came mechanically. Each day as Milly left she was urged to come to school the next day. Although this child lived only a block from school, she often stopped on her way as she wandered about slowly. Sometimes she was brought in from a drug store, meat market, or fire house. Joe often started for school without arriving. Several times each week, he would be led off by a big brother or just wander off somewhere during the walk of ten blocks. Jeff stayed out often. He seemed to run into frequent misfortunes; such as, cutting his foot severly and gashing his forehead deeply. Sometimes, it was evident that he was kept at home by his very inferior mother. Otto likewise remained at home frequently because each week he seemed to experience a new accident. In all the everyday, ordinary experiences of life that children generally face successfully, he constantly ran into difficulty. For instance, he seemed not to have learned how to walk down the street. Usually he ran, always looking behind him. He

sometimes ran into trees, brick walls, parked automobiles, or simply stumbled and fell upon the ground. On several occasions the boy had to be taken to the clinic, where he received stitches in his head, arm, or leg. Ricky was kept at home many times to give his mother medicine or because he was "having trouble with his head". May missed a great deal of the time. Her mother came regularly after her absences and explained with some long story, ending the explanations with "to tell you the truth, now, my doctor gave me some medicine, and it has dope in it, and I just didn't wake up". The mother in this family had to go to the clinic a number of times each week. Many times Nell was kept at home to take care of the babies. Agnes's parents kept her at home when she had a slight cold. This child, being very frail, spent much of her time at home.

Four of the twelve came very regularly. Bill was brought to the door each day, his family expressing delight that they did not have to watch out for him. Both of Eddie's parents worked, and each morning they left him with his grandmother, who sent him on to school early. One mother came to school almost each day to see what happened at school to make Larry want to come so much. The fourth child, Babs, did not miss but one day, and that day she had an appointment at the clinic. When she returned home from the clinic, she immediately walked ten blocks to the school

to see if everyone had gone.

Absences kept over a one year period from September 7, 1939 - June 12, 1940 showed a correlation between the daily attendance of these children and their ability to live with each other. In the group of four who were least able to go forward successfully with others, there were 82 absences during the period of one year. These four might have had a greater number of days absent had they been on the roll the whole year period. However, during this 180 day period that was being studied, one was dropped 49 days, one 121 days, and the other 131 days. The middle group of four had a total of 55 absences during the year. This did not take into consideration the fact that May was dropped from the roll 90 days. One child in the group most able to carry forward work successfully was dropped from the roll 78 days, but he was on the official roll 102 days. During this time he missed only 2 days. There were 38 absences during the year in this group of four.

Housing

Families transferred back and forth out of the Maury School community into like districts of the city or shifted their living quarters about within the community. Of the twelve children studied, two lived in the same house for a period of two years. One family left the community and

lived in three other school districts and returned to the Maury community. After the return, this family moved into four different houses in this area during the remaining seven months of the two-year period. The teacher, the school nurse, and visiting teacher prevented this family from moving out of the community again by finding a home for them. They talked very frankly, threatening stronger measures if they continued to move the child around.

The families of two of the children included in the study moved out of the community and have not returned. One of them moved after having had the child in this class one year and a half. The other family moved during the last week of the second school year, and the child stayed on in the group for the total two-year period. Children entering the class late in some cases had attended a number of schools for shorter or longer periods. One child had been in another school one year and came into the class at Maury School for the last four months of the two-year period. Two children had been in other schools before coming into this area; one of these had been in two schools before this one, the other had been to four schools. Another of the children had been in the group only five months of the normal two-year period together. Still another child's family moved four times into four different houses in the community during the two years the child was in school. Two of the children

moved twice in the same community during the two years studied. One child came into the class from another state and remained in the same house though she repeatedly talked of moving. She was with the class for one year.[1] Only two of the twelve have remained in the same house for the two-year period under study.

The homes of these children consisted of two to five rooms. One child lived in two rooms of a spacious old brick house on a through highway a block from the school. Three children lived in frame houses of five rooms which had an upstairs and a downstairs. Two lived on the second floor of houses not converted into flats but occupied by several families. Three lived in the first floor rooms of houses occupied by others on the second floor. Three lived in bungalows.

Children came to school early in the morning gathering with groups around the registers in the halls. They loved to feel the warm air blowing in their faces, and watched with interest paper as it was moved by the current. Many of their homes had poor, irregular heating systems. In some cases coal stoves were used in one room and none in the rest. One home had a coal stove in the living room which heated the

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[1] This family moved out of the city during the summer of 1940.

house. There was no way of heating the bedrooms in eight of the twelve children's homes. One child's grandparents had put a new hot air system in that radiated heat from the large coal stove in the living room throughout the first floor and the second. An oil burner in the kitchen heated the three rooms of another child's home. Still another was heated by open fireplaces.

In the twelve homes the sleeping conditions were crowded. Only the two sleeping in their baby beds had beds of their own. In one case, the mother and one child slept with the tubercular father. The teacher talked seriously to the mother about the affect of this condition upon the child's health. One day during the second winter the mother proudly came to school saying that the father had partitioned the end of their room for Agnes. She now had a little room with a small window for her own.

Grown-ups in the Homes

Another problem influencing the conditions of the homes of these twelve children was the large number of grown-ups living in the homes. In seven cases the son had married and remained to live with his family in his parents' home. One or more grown persons other than the parents were in the homes of ten of the twelve children studied. The twelve mothers at marriage were from thirteen to twenty years of

age. It was evident that there was failure to assume parental responsibility for the children in these twelve homes. Instances of irresponsibility were frequently seen. Grown-ups went off leaving children sleeping, sometimes knowing others were in the house and sometimes not. On one occasion the sleeping baby was placed in the car parked on the street, the door was locked, and the mother and father went off until a very late hour of the night.

Movies in the Lives of the Children

Moving pictures dominated the recreational life of these people. A number of parents left their children in the movie while they went out for the evening. Money seemed always available for movies. Even very young children frequented them. One afternoon the teacher took the class to see "Pinocchio". When she notified the parents that she was to go, she received two notes asking her to see that their children stayed in the show when the group left. All brought their money.

One mother said to the teacher, "Are you going to see 'The Grapes of Wrath'? It is the best picture! My oldest son (nineteen years old) told me this morning that he was going out to work today and make enough money so as I could go to see that picture. He says, 'It's grand'." In general, cowboy pictures and Western thrillers were most often attended.

Conditions Revealed in the Classroom

Like most children upon entering school the group under study showed little ability to live and work successfully in a group. Individuals sat alone, cried easily, hid from strangers, destroyed materials, had little notion of the use of common equipment, fought readily, used language incorrectly and noisily, left work unfinished, took from each other what they wanted, bragged, attracted attention, and made attempts at random activity, got injured easily, and did not associate freely with each other outside of school. From the group of twelve youngsters, three wept frequently. Joe hid behind the teacher's chair and cried quietly. Jeff went off alone and cried softly, while Larry, the third child, cried out loudly and held on to his uncle's hand. Babs, eventually one of the four most capable and most sociable children, sat alone. She was unacquainted with the community, for she came from another state and spoke with a decided accent. She had attended a school that was formal in its set-up. Larry and Agnes were aggressive. Larry, Agnes, and Eddie had had things in their homes move at their beck and call. Each was an only child.

All twelve wasted materials. They allowed the water in the spigot to run constantly. Milly and Bill turned the water on and stood to watch it. Once the sink overflowed as they continued to stand and look on. Jeff showed a positive

distaste for washing his hands. He shivered as he watched Joe, who always prolonged the process.

Otto turned the water on, got the fish bowl, and poured the fish into the sink. He watched them splash around the sink and quickly go down the drain. He remained amazed and bewildered holding to the sink as he peered down the drain-pipe. On occasions he tried out his crayons and chalk on the floor, the walls, woodwork, and books. Without comment or question, he might walk up, and jerk out of another's box the crayon that he wanted.[1]

Many sat and cut paper into shreds with their new scissors. They played with the punchers and sat thrilled with the tiny round holes left in the paper.

The children's language was strikingly loud. An individual would call across the room to the child that he wished to talk with. One might even scream out of a window to a comrade on the yard.

Once in the group, living and working with children of their age, it was interesting to see how quickly development occurred. They achieved poise in meeting visitors. Eventually when strangers came into the room, the children scarcely noticed them; Joe stopped hiding from grown-ups, Micky began to speak when spoken to, Bill, Otto, and Jeff

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[1] Otto's parents are deaf mutes.

changed their expressionless faces into smiles. In moving informally about the room and building these children found numberless opportunities for meeting and talking with others. By and by Babs, Agnes, Larry, Eddie, and Nell were willing to escort persons about the building. Before the year was over, some accepted the responsibility of carrying messages and running errands even to Hull Street. Agnes grew fairly normally out of her self-centered ways into a helpful, much-liked person. There were many things to occupy and to tempt these children's attention. They enjoyed and participated in rhythmic expressions. All sang with enthusiasm. Many picture books were always on hand. At the close of the second year development was clearly seen in the quality of work.

The reading charts dictated by the children and printed by the teacher were varied and meaningful. The four children that had begun to read out of books, refused dry pre-primers and chose instead interesting easy story books. Many of the twelve children became familiar with the authors of their books. They made out, selected, and sent for the books they needed from the school library each Monday. Agnes and Babs charged books out to the individuals in the room wishing to take them home. They were capable and efficient. They knew who had books when called for by other members of the class, the teacher, or visitors. When the end of the

year came, no books were lost; but the previous year when all books were called in, many were missing. Nell kept the library in working order by her constant ability to catch things before they became too crowded. Seven begged to carry books home. One child whose grandparents could not read or write asked to take The Little Old Woman and the Seventeen Cats and One Little Blue-Gray Kitten home for his grandmother to see. When he returned the book, the teacher asked if his grandmother had read the book. "Naw, but we looked at the pictures, and I told her what they said." Many children's parents came to school to see the books, and one sent requests for certain books regularly.

All of the twelve studied at the end of two years had a love for books and handled them carefully and with cleaner hands. Many spoke about authors whom they had met at the school or during the annual Book Fair held in a Richmond Store. Others dictated or wrote letters and suggestions to Lois Lenski and Dr. Betzner and many asked for new books by authors whom they had learned to love.

Early in the year, six began noticing signs, markings, notes, and notices seen on the way to school and in the school building. These children gradually built up a reading background. Each morning four of the twelve could be counted upon to bring in news seen on the way to school. One of the twelve, Larry, came dashing in one morning, "What

is funny letter, SSO? It looks like a 3 backwards". The teacher asked the child to write what he saw. "Oh, that says ESSO. It is a gasoline."

Babs said, "As soon as I learn to read the street signs, I can find my way home." This child had to wait for her brother to come for her each day. Soon she learned her way home alone. Though it's doubtful that she read the signs at first, she became a keen observer of signs, names of streets and sizes, shapes and numbers on houses as she walked the ten blocks to and from school. Before her school experience, her attention had not been called to such close observation of signs, streets, and houses.

Three of the most unfortunate children also showed that they were teachable though on a very low level. After a long time they did not continue to make the crude, animalistic sounds that, at first, were the usual responses. Now, when a seen object was desired, they no longer grabbed for the article and ran. One child who used the school yard instead of the toilet built up a regular habit of going to the bath room. All of the children studied began to wash their hands regularly before eating, but they did not establish the habit of washing their hands after going to the toilet. Habits of cleanliness, however, were not established in the homes. Six continued to come to school dirty. One smelled of kerosene; layers of dirt and settled

soot were found in another's ears and upon his body. One child began to keep his face cleaner; he came to school early and used the soap and water there. At home there were neither the facilities nor the encouragement from his family to help him get cleaned up.

Muscular coordination came slowly for many, but all were able to hold pencils, scissors, crayons, and chalk by the end of the two years. All showed progress in ability to answer questions addressed to them. One youngster acquired the ability to obey the simpliest command when emphatically followed by a push in the direction he should go or by a firm grip on the shoulder if he were to be seated. He stopped and turned in response to the calling of his name. It was clear that though the place at which their progress began was low, the least capable children could make advances.

One of the children classified as feeble-minded found a definite place in the class for himself. It is doubtful how long he will be able to stay with the group. At the end of the second year he did not stand out as different, and he helped make the situation more livable for all by his ability to clean up after others. More often, however, he had begun to let out silly laughs, but they had not become annoying or menacing. This child came to school early and stayed late and thus did not have as much time to get himself

into trouble on the streets and to get reported to the authorities. The other feeble-minded child comprehended so little of what was said to him that he still usually looked bewildered, shook his head, and moved slowly away.

The most alive in the group were the youngest. Those who entered school at five and a half years of age were the leaders. One child, the youngest, was a leader in the class and the school. After a year in the group, another child was an entirely different individual at school and at home. She had a definite place in the school group. All went to her for help when something especially difficult needed to be solved. This child had grown, and no longer did she "act up" and "show off" about "how much I know". She attended to her own business and helped others constantly.

There were found strengths in the whole group. The twelve children were all intensely interested in other children. Unselfishness prevailed. They worked with very little encouragement; a smile from the teacher or a member of the class sent any one of the twelve away to do his best. They responded to simple things; they were easily lead. Their sense of beauty was easily challenged. They enjoyed making up their own stories and listened to music and stories read by others. They were interested in everything new and unusual.

Because of the absence of parents, the children were

forced to take care of themselves at an early age. All but two children were accustomed to doing things alone and directing their own conduct on differing levels. They had managed for themselves, done without bare neccessities, and, consequently, had a knack for accepting what came. Early experiences of having to face situations had hardened them. All had the ability to substitute one thing for another. When the desired book, sandwich, paper, or painting easel was wanted by a child, he gave up easily and quickly found a substitute.

In similar fashion they adjusted themselves to people. Even in the beginning there was no crying for attention. Most had a stand-offishness, a shy but attractive friendly way that captivated all. With very little encouragement they became staunch friends. All were fond of the teacher, the principal, "the cafeteria lady" and especially Mrs. D., a mother, who came to school almost every day. Power to grow was seen early in their ability to try to do what they had seen done by others. A little help went a long way. An appreciation was shown for even the slightest task done for them or the slightest recognition of a job well done. These were the strengths on which the teacher built.

On the other hand they have not yet learned to become adjusted to the delicate, finer things. Many in the group had come to disregard the more delicate sounds; they had

become used to loud, screeching voices of adults and brothers and sisters. They did, however, readily get the idea. The children were heard telling younger children "not to holler out of the window -- go outside if you want to talk to that boy". Again, the teacher heard one child say to her smaller niece who came in from another room talking loudly, "Ella Anne, come in quietly and just tell me. You bother everybody".

The children are still young enough to be easily impressed. The beautiful vases and flower arrangements in the room and building inspired the children. Nell no longer cut all the flower stems the same length before chunking them down into a tin can, nor did she remove all the leaves and foliage. The teacher watched another child choose a clear glass container and arrange a few flowers beautifully upon the top of a locker. Agnes brought roses while they were buds and cut long stems rather than the short stemmed full-blown roses which previously she had brought. Very few had any flowers at home; only two had any flowering plants in their yards. Gradually, they began to see the beauty in weeds and grasses which they found on their way to school. These were brought in and arranged effectively in earthen jars and clay bowls.

Deprivation has not gone so far that something cannot be done about it in the homes. As their range of experiences

was broadened, they saw new possibilities. When these possibilities were shown to the children they were inspired to carry them out. Nell, whose father burned wooden circles which he was given at a paper factory, made colorful holders for the candles which they used for lighting her house. Agnes saved tins and made cans to hold her father's different length nails and screws to "keep them from falling all over the place". Another child made a diaper box from a discarded oatmeal carton.

Likewise a carry-over in habits was noticed. All had records of fewer absences at the end of the second year. By repeatedly reminding and daily round-ups Milly built up a record of fewer absences, though she continued to come in late. Joe missed only two days in the last half of the second year of this study. Prolonged absences and disabilities were often prevented by early treatment. The teacher knew from experience with the group over a period of time which child tended to be absent most often and why. The teacher, therefore, was able to catch the absence before it occurred, sometimes by reminding the child that he had not been absent for two days. Again, the teacher said, "Is your mother sick a little today? Tomorrow put her medicine by her bed and hurry to school." Once the teacher told a child to keep the alarm clock by her bed and taught her how to set it and told her to get up when it rang. The mother in this

case felt no responsibility for getting up in the morning or awakening her children. Similarly, the same kind of happenings occurred with others in the class.

CHAPTER IV

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAM TO THE ADULTS OF THE COMMUNITY

It was early understood by the teachers that in order to contribute to the children's living something must be done for the adults; consequently, the school began to develop a program for them. Friends in the community were encouraged to visit with each other at the school and to work there together. During the day, the school and its facilities were open to all of the community. Regularly on Tuesday evening the building was open to the parents, grandparents, friends, aunts, and uncles of the children. At these times conditions existing in the community were reflected in the individuals working at the school. Many wholesome attitudes and relationships were evident from the first. A desire to please the child's teacher was the motivating beginning point. An expressed wish to provide more equipment for the classrooms in which their children belonged was noticed rather soon. Some parents were eager to do when they were shown an opportunity. Occasionally fathers came to school during the day to use the materials found there. They made picture frames, papered the walls, painted the lockers, refinished the ice-box, and made small

library tables.

Later, several men became interested in building more satisfactory playground equipment for their children. They made four swings, many pairs of stilts, two acting bars, and two see-saws. Another father coached the third grade boys in baseball.

Interest in a recreational program for themselves and their families was soon evident. The people had used the movies as the only means of amusement. When the school was opened at night, many came. Young unmarried sisters and brothers, young friends from fourteen to twenty years of age poured into the school house. The Maury School served only young children up to and including the third grade. In the evening the school found that it could not accommodate both the many adolescents who appeared and the parents of the school children. When the choice had to be made, the school decided for the parents. Herein, through force of necessity, an excellent opportunity to reach and influence for good these youngsters was not taken advantage of because of the lack of room and leadership.

Regularly, at night, a large group attended and entered into the activities at the school. A few of the people went off alone to work, but many gathered in groups to talk, sat along the sides of the wall watching others, joined in square-dances, or sang in large groups. At

different times people moving into the community found this was a place to meet their neighbors and make social contacts. Among all there seemed to be a desire to meet new people. Husbands came without their wives when both could not attend; husbands who brought their wives walked home with them if one had to leave early to see about the children and returned for the rest of the square dancing. Women came without their husbands and enjoyed talking to new friends and participating in the dances. Women enjoyed and often preferred dancing with other women. These grown people usually remained until the last minute. In the school building there were many opportunities open for social activities. There was much they could do. Children's pictures were about, books and clay sculpture was there for all to look at, enjoy and talk about. In each person there seemed to be a yearning to get outside of the home.

Later, the teachers helped some of these mothers arrange happy occasions for their families. Women gave birthday parties for their children in the school cafeteria because their homes were inadequate. Often invitations for groups to come to the homes grew out of these contacts. Mrs. Knox, a mother of a young child in another classroom, asked a group of children to come to her house and use her back yard for their much talked about Easter Egg Hunt. Mr. Rudolph, the habitual drunkard, on a sober day, enjoyed

explaining and showing a group of children his carpentering ability. On another occasion, one mother invited a class to see some baby ducks just acquired at her house. Although the home often was not suitable for children to visit, the fact that the group had been invited was valuable.

During the week before Thanksgiving, the cafeteria management sponsored a Thanksgiving dinner. This dinner consisted of small plates of turkey, dressing, and gravy for ten cents. All the parents of the children were invited. The teachers, cafeteria manager, and a few mothers thought they had prepared for the occasion; but the school had not expected so many parents to respond. Mothers and fathers of most of the children came to get a turkey dinner. The following Thanksgiving, turkey dinners were served on two days.

One night the mothers of the school children gave a supper for all the fathers at the school. Many fathers came, sang, talked, and enjoyed pancakes, sausages, coffee, and ice-cream. This group of men had been working together as a nucleus for a men's club. On the nights that the club met at the school, current events and community problems were discussed among the men. Many began attending church in the community, and several men obtained employment as a result of the contacts made at Maury School.

Mothers acting as hostesses in the school cafeteria

became a very profitable experience for those mothers and all of the children. The mothers could not miss seeing the desirable eating habits that many children picked up but that theirs had not acquired. Mothers helped some to learn to use knives and forks instead of fingers. Often a mother slipped a child a neatly folded grocery bag to take home to bring his lunch in the next day instead of the usual newspaper. One mother suggested rather soon after acting as a hostess that a table was too close beside a post and that at this point in the cafeteria the most dishes were broken. Another mother suggested putting a railing along the wall like the one in the tobacco factory where she worked to facilitate leaving the cafeteria. This she thought would also keep the children from being pushed or shoved about in returning to and from the lunch counters. Another good suggestion came from a mother's direct comment about a condition in the school which required the children to go through the toilets after leaving the cafeteria.

Many gave their services to school in return for food for the children. Some washed windows, waxed tables, polished brasses, and washed trays; and their children were given a hot lunch in the cafeteria. One father gave many needed hair cuts to children that had "soup bowl" cuts and too long, shaggy hair.

Many mothers and fathers came to school regularly to

see the lunch hour which provided proper food and happy associations. While in the cafeteria, these parents sometimes ate lunch with their children and a small group of the child's friends. These parents sometimes brought their own sandwiches and bought hot soup or a drink. As the parents sat about in the cafeteria or walked among the tables, they became conscious of the fact that newspapers did not look very beautiful around lunches. Gradually, the children came no longer with newspaper-wrapped lunches. The teachers hoped that the fathers in those families likewise did not open newspaper-covered lunches when the noon whistle blew.

When these parents came to have lunch in the cafeteria, it boosted the children's spirits and inspired them to use their best manners. Having the parents come for lunch gave a lift to the whole lunch hour. During the regular lunch hour music was played. Parents often commented upon its soothing effect.

When the parents came to school, a new problem was found. Material things were needed. Parents came to school themselves lacking necessary clothing. Mrs. Joe came to wash windows one cold winter day. She wore no underwear and had on a lightweight coat. When she went home in the afternoon, she had on an old coat that had been given one of the teachers for such use.

Some parents came to school to repair clothes that the teachers and friends of the school had collected. Sometimes these were given them for their children. One of the particularly unfortunate parents came often to the school for this purpose. Here she learned to sew for her own six children. Not only did she learn the necessities of sewing, but also she began a little creative work with sugar bags out of which she wove rag rugs for her children to sleep on at school. She began this work on Thursday mornings when there was always an experienced person in the playroom of the school building ready to help mothers with their sewing problems. Mothers came to the school building to learn to sew by hand or upon the sewing machine.

An interest in helping other people's children as well as their own was very evident. Mothers sewed on buttons for children, mended seams, altered clothes to fit the child who was wearing the garment. One child asked if he could go to the playroom to get Mrs. Snow, a mother of a child, to sew the lining in his coat because his mother did not get time to do it for him.

The parents were eager to be helpful to all the children of the school. A group of ten or twelve mothers came almost daily at their convenience during the morning or afternoon and worked upon a quilt. They proceeded alone or in small groups. The chances on the quilt were raffled off.

Mothers approached many people outside of the community, and many mothers in the school area bought tickets. Not only were these mothers willing to give their time, but they gave what they had. One mother gave the patchwork quilt which they quilted. For many years, she had not had the time nor the materials to make the cover for herself. She remembered about the lining she had and gave it to the quilters. The money received paid for milk for children in the school.

The same willingness to serve was noticed in the case of a different group of mothers. These mothers became interested in the "Brownie Pack" which the teacher had started for girls from seven to ten years of age. Some mothers began working for the "Pack" by taking orders, preparing, and delivering potato salad. The fund so raised paid for the registration fees and provided fares for bus trips and necessary materials with which to work.

Still other mothers helped collect newspapers and clothes hangers to raise money for much needed suits of underwear for twelve children. This project was carried on by parents whose children had gone on to higher elementary grades and to high schools.

The parents learned to organize to make their helpfulness effective. A Young Women's Christian Association group which meets regularly on Tuesday Nights at Maury School was composed of the younger mothers and their friends. These

young women sponsored a bazaar and rounded up and brought in to exhibit many interesting and rare collections and hobbies. At this time they sold handicrafts which they had made over a period of several months. The money received from this enterprise was used to mend the shoes of many Maury School children.

Mothers came to school asking what to cook for meals and how to cook simple nourishing foods that were suggested. Previously they had not tried new ways of preparing foods. They did not like to try new foods and had little money with which to experiment. Often they had to acquire a taste for different foods by first trying them at the school cafeteria. By eating in the cafeteria, by informal conversations, and by visits into the homes many mothers saw better ways of buying and preparing inexpensive foods. Menus sent from the school to the home encouraged mothers to try new, nourishing and less costly dishes.[1]

A special appropriation of money brought out a very valuable three months' project with a group of Maury School mothers. The plan of procedure was the following: From the beginning, the instructor did a great deal of visiting in the homes. Out of these contacts eight small groups of women were formed; three of these met in the homes of

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[1] Appendix 10.

members, one in a church kitchen, one in a welfare center, and three after school hours in Maury School. Sewing and cooking were the principal activities carried on. At each cooking class inexpensive yet nourishing foods were cooked and served. Proper foods to make a balanced meal were discussed always. In the sewing classes dress-making, rug weaving, mending, and making over of old garments went on. Several of the mothers went with the instructor to the Singer Sewing Machine Demonstration Room to learn to make slip covers. They hoped to answer some advertisements for this work in order to make some money. One sixteen-year-old girl came with her mother and made a very pretty dress for herself. There were mothers of large families in the groups who did not own a sewing machine and never had made a garment. It was gratifying to see them turn out wearable clothing and to demonstrate great interest in their accomplishments. On certain days several of the groups worked at the same time, some throughout the day. The instructor moved from group to group and saw that they "carried on" without constant help and attention. While these classes went on, many family problems came to light and were discussed with the mothers. The instructor talked with members about the use of surplus commodities, which some on relief received, pointed out to them the advantages of getting the right kind of foods for their families. She

spent a great deal of time visiting the merchants and discussing with them the problems of some of the families, and asked if they would help by keeping day-old bread which sold at less than half price in order that the parents might save considerably on their orders. Several merchants cooperated. The mothers enjoyed the social contacts in the small groups. Some came to the school who had not been before. Once organized these group meetings devoted time to the consideration of many problems.

The school was not only the center for recreation and for learning how to provide materially for the children, but it was also the spot which they sought when emergency help was needed. Mothers, sisters, or brothers brought children to school to get cut feet bandaged on the days the clinics were not open. One mother came to school to ask the teacher to please look at and do something for her sore hand. It was an open, raw wound and was paining her all the way up her shoulder.

A mother came to the teacher for help in speaking the English language. This mother was a Greek and spoke Greek entirely in her home to her six young children. The mother had been born in Greece and had been married at a very young age to a Greek in America, whom she had not seen. This Greek woman came to two teachers two afternoons a week and received help with her pronounciation, enunciation, and

vocabulary, and later gained much knowledge about United States history and government which she needed in order to pass her naturalization examinations. Most important was the security that this woman gained, the belief in self, and the certainty that other people cared about her. This relationship between the mother and one teacher grew over a four-year period, during which time the teacher had two of this Greek's children. The mother began to speak English in her home and at school, took night classes offered at the high school, and applied for her naturalization papers, passed her examination, and became an American citizen. This would have been impossible had the teacher not stepped in and helped her through. She was so proud of the fact, that, when she received her naturalization papers, she asked and provided transportation for both teachers to go to see her take the oath of citizenship.

Many applied to their homes, ideas they gained about beauty. A father asked a teacher to save the scraps of the wall paper being used at school so that he might paper the tiny hall in his home. One mother came with the measurement of her windows and asked the teacher how much cloth to buy and what to do with the "bottoms of the drapes." Four mothers came and helped the teacher make her curtains for the classroom. Two of these took samples and ideas home, and on a later visit in one of these homes the teacher found

lovely curtains hanging at the kitchen window. They were made similarly to the classroom curtains.

The teachers offered parents opportunities for discussing problems in the faculty group. At times they came to the Thursday teachers' meetings. They attended also a two-day conference held during the first weeks of September. These parents entered into the discussions and asked questions and in turn answered many questions the teachers asked.

They soon wanted to know how they could better help their children. Parents began to give an increasing amount of time to the discussions of children's development; they were interested enough to make arrangements to get to school. Problems studied were simple and pertained to the help needed by the whole group. Interested mothers of the Maury School children discussed such questions as the following: Where can children roller skate? Can certain streets be blocked off during definite hours in order for children to play? What can be done about the children next door who are allowed to stay out late skating and playing? How can we as parents get our children to bed at a decent hour when we want to talk and listen to the radio in the same room? What kinds of toys should we buy for our children at Christmas? At that meeting one teacher interested a local merchant in displaying suitable toys from his store.

The desires aroused in the parents to live better with their youngsters persisted. Often parents continued their relations with the school when children were placed elsewhere. A grandmother and an uncle of one of the children that moved away from the school district continued to come occasionally to "stay a while in Eddie's old room". They sat and talked to the children as they came by and asked about Eddie. The uncle, a barber, remained at school one day and cut the hair of several of the children. A mother who had moved out of the area came back one morning to ask the teacher which school would be the better for her child. She was moving again and had the privilege of sending Jane to either of two schools.

Mothers and fathers saw for the first time needs of their children which have never occurred to them previously. Parents had not thought ahead and planned for their families. Little attention was paid to the child's physical growth. His teeth just came out at the right time. If the new ones came in incorrectly, no thought occurred that they should and could be easily straightened by the dentist. One mother visiting in the room was asked by the teacher about the child's teeth which were ruining the looks of the child's mouth. The mother said, "Let me see her teeth. Is there anything to do about them?" Another said, "Yes, I did notice that it was taking a mighty long time for her to get

her front teeth. They have been out a long time now. You know, they did not come out. She fell down and knocked them both out. Maybe the tops of her baby teeth and the roots are still in her mouth."

Many mothers grew in their ability to meet others and to take their rightful place in society. Through her work in the school and leadership in the Parent Teachers' Association (P.T.A.) Mrs. Konahan became a successful P.T.A. president. Mrs. Snow, feeling at ease, going about the building, and knowing many of the children, came to the school in an emergency and substituted.

In the school house parents found no tension, no hate was present, people were not fussing and fighting and they saw their children living a happy, normal life in the school group. Very often a parent needed someone simply to listen to him and left the school house with a new interest in living or with an impetus to get himself straightened out. Continuously there were appearing new and unthought of ways of influencing parents. While only a small beginning could be claimed, this beginning pointed the way to finer and better things.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Striking Home and Community Characteristics That Affected Children's Development at School

This study reveals certain definite characteristics of home and community conditions which have a bearing on the children in Maury School. Irregular employment and low wages prevailed. Poor standards of living, old, overcrowded and unsanitary homes, lowered vitality, premature old age, and other mal-adjustment problems existed.

It is inevitable that as a result of their residence in this area, the children faced definitely hampered conditions influencing their development. Bad sleeping habits and malnutrition with their implications on wholesome development were evident in many children.

Many children lacked the kind of living that brings beauty into their experience. In facing constant scarcity and uncertainty, many lost or never achieved the aesthetic quality of living. A refinement of human relationships had had no chance for development, and the absence of this was often seen in the reactions of the children and adults. Few opportunities were provided for the expression of the play spirit.

To analyze the conditions of the community, it became

necessary to think of the population in three groups: the lower, the middle group, and the old established families. The lower group, the majority group, is the eye-sore of the community. The middle group works hard but apparently cannot overcome overwhelming handicaps. These persons have many problems and face most of the hampering conditions of the lower type, but they continue to struggle and to push along day by day for themselves. The old established families are of a different generation and culture; they are few in number, aloof, know very little about what goes on around them, and try to find out less, have very little influence upon the community, and talk constantly of leaving.

Thus, the atmosphere of the community is determined by the life of the many who apparently have no desire and no incentive to change or better their present low status of living. This majority shows a willingness to sit and let others take care of their needs. A sense of shame is often missing as one hears parents, sisters, and brothers talking of members of their families in jails, insane asylums, or courts. One senses no feeling of embarrassment on their part for their surroundings. There seems to be a lack of feeling of responsibility and little desire to plan for the future. Many look upon spending money as its chief value. When money is forthcoming, it is spent immediately. There is no hesitancy in buying if a down payment can be

made. Many homes have one or more radios, and all the populace attends the movies regularly; likewise, many have cars and travel distances. Children and adults are responsive when intrinsic values in these experiences are discussed with them.

If the school conceives its program as set up to improve the living of its people, then it is clear that the foregoing problems are the problems with which the school must deal. It would be futile to think that shutting children off in a classroom and dealing in some superficial way with some narrowly conceived instructional problem could make any vital contribution to their lives. There must be conceived and set in motion some cooperative process involving all the people of the community. Much has already happened to the child before he enters school. Whether he is in school, in his home or playing in the streets of his community, his development is resulting from an integrated stream of experiences. All the people around him like or dislike him; help, neglect, or punish him; encourage suspicion or express faith in him, and set before him good or bad examples of living. No school person can afford to forget these principles. No school program can plan for better living without dealing with the whole child in his whole environment.

A Few Recommendations for Future Educational Endeavors in the Community

As a result of this study one idea has forcefully presented itself to the writer: It is that the school as now conceived can only "pick" at the problems of the children. To touch deep fundamental issues, the cooperation of the city, state, and federal government is involved. It is a cooperative community problem involving all the agencies and institutions touching the lives of the people. The school can in some measure extend its basic program. It can open its doors to parents. It can help them enlarge their social contacts. It can give suggestions of value to them in rearing their children. It can contribute some freshness to their experiences that would in turn enrich the children's lives. Teachers in their friendly way can go with parents to help them meet their property owners; they can help them find jobs. But, when these things are done, the school is still feeding the children, clothing them, trying to make them feel that they are wanted and trying to "love" them into security. It is, however, still struggling with overwhelming odds against it to reduce conflict in their lives.

In view of these facts the school program should be designed to help people make living for themselves more worthy. The school must conceive of its program as such a

vital thing as to arouse the people of the community to their responsibilities, privileges, and rights. The school must help the people improve their desires and demand better standards. The school has a responsibility for raising their desires.

To meet the whole problem, the city, state, and federal government must cooperate. Housing, feeding, and clothing children is a state and national, as well as a local problem. When these people are able to house, feed, and clothe their children properly, the school can contribute something in teaching these people how to get the best values out of such improved conditions. Cooperation of all institutions and all agencies all along the way is constantly involved.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

The mothers of the twelve children studied though very young, looked old and haggard. Milly's mother at twenty-two looked flabby, disheveled, wrinkled and worn and could have been easily thought a middle-aged woman. Joe's mother had a tousled, witch-like appearance. The mother of Jeff, who was about thirty, looked fifty and had a simple expression upon her face. Otto had a thirty-two year old mother. May's mother was twenty-six and looked forty-five or fifty. Nell's mother at forty seemed too fat and listless to move and sat or lay in bed usually as a tired, elderly, sickly woman. Eddie's mother worked and kept up her physical appearance. She was always neat and clean and though she was in her twenties, looked very young. Larry's mother was also in her twenties and kept herself presentable. Agnes' mother was thirty, but was much older looking. Bab's mother was twenty-eight years old, but would easily be taken for a settled woman of forty.

Appendix 2

Examples of notes received by teacher:

Miss W.
May I ask you if you can take Otto to see school nurse see it what wrong with him and he has rashon foce and neck.
Mrs. Polly.

Miss W:
May's Leg's were Chapped right Behind her Knee's Friday and I didn't send her because it was so uncomfortable for her to walk.
Mrs. Edmond's.

Miss W
Nell has been sick I am sending her to school. to day if she doesnt feel better please let her Come home
Mrs Paul

Dear Miss W
I am very Sorry to have to Keep Margaret away from school so much but hope some day her health will be better so she can go to school every Day She loves her school and also her Teacher & her schoolmates.

Very Truely

Miss W
I kelp Joe home because he was feeling bad.

Mrs. Hurry.

Miss W
Margaret has been home sich. Her Stomac was out of order. We have been given her medicine. She is some what bettin.

Yours
J. P. Hunter

Miss W
Robert Says you Want him to go to Forist Hill that Will be O k. But I do not want him to go to any more shows that is against My religon Brother fooled me about two Weeks ago. So et will be O K for him to go to Forist Hill.

Respectfuly. Mrs. Todd
Your.

Appendix 3

Edmond's brother had been convicted on several occasions. Finally, he was sent to an institution. Edmond came to school one morning, saying, "you know my brother walked in last night. He walked all the way home. They treated him so nice where he was and just told him to stay there, and they didn't have any bars, and they didn't lock him up, so he walked out. He got home last night, and he got drunk again, and now the policeman's got him in the penitentiary."

Appendix 4

Dabs came into the room one day weeping as if her heart were going to break. "Somebody came in our house last night and took my three new dresses (meaning her three clean dresses) and two of my brother's shirts and $20.00 out of my mother's pocketbook. Daddy and mother were lying on the bed, and the light was on. Daddy got up to go buy him some cigarettes, and the money was gone out of mother's pocketbook. When she looked, she couldn't find the clothes she had just ironed."

Appendix 5

Mrs. Moss, a negro teacher living in this community, stopped teaching school on a Friday, had her baby on Sunday and died. The baby lived.

Appendix 6

Census Tract S^1 1935 reports the entire tract as having more tuberculosis cases than the city wide average. Housing and other Planning Matters collected and compiled for City Planning Commission, Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, January, 1938.

T. B. cases 1934

	white	negro	% per 1000 pop.
S^1	48	10	11.3
S^3	33	12	8.7
	81	22	20.0

Appendix 7

U. S. Housing Authority was established in September, 1937, as a permanent agency, and was assigned to the Department of the Interior. All of the slum clearance projects that had been progressing slowly under the housing division of the Public Works Administration were transferred to it. Since that time many Housing Authorities have been established in many states, the District of Columbia, Hawii, and Puerto Rico, but not until October, 1940 was a Housing plan approved for Richmond, although Virginia had passed the required enabling legislation in March, 1938.

Appendix 8

C. E. Maurice, spokesman for the property owners of South Richmond. Dr. Raymond C. Hooper, B. H. Hancock, J. T. Morrissett, E. L. Feld, V. W. Clarke and Randolph Jones all spoke against the housing project.

Appendix 9

Community Fund Agencies used by Jeff's family:

Family Service Society (F.S.S.)	12/30/24
Social Service Bureau (S.S.B.)	12/30/24
Instructive Visiting Nurses Association (I.V.N.A.)	10/5 /26
Medical College of Virginia (M.C.V. Disp.)	5/20/32
Parent Teachers' Association (P.T.A.)	10/14/32
S.S.B. Pine Camp	7/11/35
Children's Memorial Clinic (C.M.C.)	11/22/35
Memorial Hospital (Mem. Hosp.)	12/30/37
Mem. Hosp.	1/2 /40
School Attendance Officer (Sch. Att. Off.)	6/2 /38
Juvenile Court (Juv. Ct.)	9/17/38

Seven Community Fund Agencies were used by Joe's family:

Mem. Hosp.	1/3 /28
F.S.S.	4/22/29
P.T.A.	11/26/34
S.S.B. - Active	2/21/36
I.V.N.A.	2/6 /37
Council Neighborhood House (C.N.H.)	5/30/39
M.C.V.	10/12/37
M.C.V.	6/29/39
Mem. Hosp.	10/11/39
Mem. Hosp.	12/1 /39
F.S.S. Closed	12/15/39
S.S.B. Closed	3/23/40

Seven Community Fund Agencies were used by Nell's family:

F.S.S.	10/25/26
S.S.B.	1/17/31
Sch. Att. Off.	10/30/33
I.V.N.A.	1/27/34
S.S.B. Med.	6/11/35
Y.W.C.A.	11/1 /38
Dooley Hospital	1939
M.C.V.	10/25/39
M.C.V. Disp.	11/22/39

Community Fund Agencies used by Milly's family:

M.C.V. Disp.	11/16/26
I.V.N.A.	7/24/31
F.S.S.	11/16/31
S.S.B.	12/5 /31
Juv. Ct.	7/9 /32
C.M.C.	7/13/32
C.M.C.	1/13/40
Social Service Exchange (S.S.E.)	7/10/35
M.C.V.	4/5 /39
S.S.B. - Closed	11/15/39
F.S.S. - Closed	5/24/40

Community Fund Agencies used by May's family:

I.V.N.A.	8/10/32
F.S.S. - Active	9/21/33
Juv. Ct.	6/16/34
S.S.B. - Active	12/9 /35
M.C.V.	3/18/36
M.C.V.	11/10/38
Dooley Hosp.	1/9 /39
F.S.S. - Closed	8/31/39
S.S.B. - Closed	9/13/39
F.S.S. - Closed	1/20/40

Community Fund Agencies used by Otto's family:

I.V.N.A.	7/6 /29
M.C.V. Disp.	6/16/27
F.S.S.	7/6 /29
S.S.B.	2/2 /38
Occupational Therapy Curative Workshop (O.T.C.W.)	2/9 /39
Mem. Hosp.	1/3 /40
M.C.V.	9/30/35

Community Fund Agencies used by Ricky's family:

Children's Aid Society (C.A.S.)	4/23/29
I.V.N.A.	1/13/32
City Home	5/23/33
Sch. Att. Off.	2/10/38

Community Fund Agencies used by Bill's family:

I.V.N.A.	9/8 /26
M.C.V.	4/12/27
F.S.B.	6/26/29
M.C.V.	10/24/29
C.M.C.	4/27/35
M.C.V.	4/3 /35
C.M.C.	1940

Appendix 10

Sample menu sent out each week from the Maury School Cafeteria:

MAURY SCHOOL CAFETERIA

MAY 12 - 16

MONDAY

CREAMED CHIPPED BEEF ON TOAST

CREAMED POTATOES

GREEN PEAS

TOMATO SALAD

STRAWBERRY SHORTCAKE

FRUIT CUP

TUESDAY

BROILED LIVER & GRAVY

TURNIP SALAD

CREAMED POTATOES

TUNA FISH SALAD

BLACKBERRY ROLL

WEDNESDAY

CREAMED CHICKEN ON TOAST

GREEN PEAS & CARROTS

HARVARD BEETS

PEAR & CHEESE SALAD

PINEAPPLE UPSIDE DOWN CAKE

THURSDAY

OLIVE SANDWICHES

CHICKEN SALAD

STRING BEANS

POTATOES AU GRATIN

CONGEALED FRUIT SALAD

BAKED APPLES & CREAM

JELLO & WHIPPED CREAM

Sample Menu (cont.)

FRIDAY

SALMON CROQUETTES

CANDIED SWEET POTATOES

GREEN PEAS

DEVILED EGG SALAD

GINGERBREAD & LEMON SAUCE

VITA

Frances Page Walker was educated in the public schools of Richmond, Virginia and the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Her professional experience includes that of teaching the Junior Primary and the Second Grade in Maury School, Richmond, Virginia.